

# EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## HONORING THE SPORLEDER FAMILY

### HON. BOB SCHAFFER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. SCHAFFER. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, November 13, the Colorado Association of Soil Conservation Districts held its 56th annual meeting in Grand Junction, Colorado. This association gathers every year to recognize two land owners who have demonstrated leadership in conservation and stewardship. The work of this body and its members is truly a standard of exemplary commendation.

This year, Sig Sporleder, a member of the Upper Huerfano Soil Conservation District since 1951, was recognized for the outstanding ranching techniques he has implemented on his 2,367-acre ranch near Walsenberg, Colorado and named Conservationist of the Year for Ranching. He has controlled ranch erosion by installing dams and diversion ditches, and increased plant diversity and rangeland productivity by cross-fencing for rotational grazing systems. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Sporleder is not only a great conservationist but an upstanding member of our community. He is a member of the Colorado Cattlemen's Association, Farm Bureau and the Huerfano Stock-Growers Association. His contribution to cultivation and conservation practices is an encouragement to all of us who seek to preserve the integrity of the land.

IN HONOR OF RAY BRADBURY

### HON. DENNIS J. KUCINICH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate author Ray Bradbury, as he receives a lifetime achievement award to be presented by the National Book Foundation. A novelist, lecturer, social critic, screenwriter, playwright, poet and visionary, Ray Bradbury is a national treasure.

Born in 1920, the young Bradbury was an imaginative child prone to nightmares and frightening fantasies. He began writing at the age of twelve, and has not looked back. Operas, poetry, essays, plays, more than 500 short stories and 30 books later, Ray Bradbury has left a vast collection of thoughts and ideas which will assuredly withstand the test of time.

A man well grounded in reality, he has an amazingly distinct hold on the creative process that alludes most. He has said, "We are cups, constantly and quietly being filled. The trick is knowing how to tip ourselves over and let the beautiful stuff out." Indeed, Ray Bradbury has found the path to letting the "beautiful stuff out," for nearly 65 years. His works are well known by most, including his more popular *The Martian Chronicles*, *Something Wicked*

*This Way Comes*, and *Fahrenheit 451*. Ray Bradbury's ideas are intertwined with our shared American culture, as nearly every high school student has at some point read one of his novels for a high school literature class. *Fahrenheit 451*, in which an autocratic society's government denies its people access to books, and thus creative thought and actions, is a classic example of Ray Bradbury's unique incorporation of fantasy, reality, and forewarning vision. It serves not only as a warning against censorship, but was firmly rooted in the American culture of the time, as it was written and published during the reign of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Truly a modern creative genius, Ray Bradbury has won numerous awards for his writing, and was inducted into the Science Fiction Hall of Fame in 1970. After what has indeed been a lifetime of achievement, Mr. Bradbury is showing no signs of slowing down, as even now, at 80, he continues to write and lecture.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that my colleagues join me in honoring Ray Bradbury, a man whose vision and artistic creativity has challenged our collective memories, ideals and beliefs; and who has served as an inspiration to each of us and our future.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

### HON. PATRICK J. KENNEDY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably detained and missed the following votes: Rollcall No. 593, No. 594, No. 595, No. 596.

Had I been here I would have voted: "Yea" on No. 593, No. 594; and "Nay" on No. 595, No. 596.

## GOVERNMENT SPENDING

### HON. MARSHALL "MARK" SANFORD

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to leave in the record a few thoughts about where we are, and where we are going, with regard to government spending. Milton Friedman once said that the only real measure of government's size is what it spends. I had a hunch that he was right when I came to Washington, having been here for six years I am now certain he is correct.

It's not collusion, or a conspiracy, but unfortunately political forces regularly come together to mask the real size of government. Taxes may sit below the real cost of sustaining a program. That's happening now with Social Security where the \$9 trillion liability, if annualized, would mean payroll taxes closer

to 17% than 12%. Money can also be borrowed—we have \$5 trillion in government debt, a great part of this went to consumption rather than investment—and as such basically means that the current generation handed the bill to the next for government services they enjoyed.

Friedman's historical argument is reinforced by the federal government's growth over the last 5 years. When I arrived in Washington in 1995 the federal government spent about \$1.5 trillion per year. It now spends almost \$1.9 trillion per year. Washington looks, feels, and acts like a great spending machine, and I have seen first hand the tremendous bias toward spending inherent in our system of government. Few people take a trip to Washington because they want nothing from it, and you see this in several ways.

First, regular folks from back home come up—they admire what I have done and said on government spending and even say keep it up—but there is always this "one" program they want to tell you about. If you add up all the "one" programs—railroad retirement funding, money to fix the Pinckney historic site in Mount Pleasant, a new line item for firefighters, the local disabilities or humanities board's push for un-offset additional funding, etc, you get to a lot of money. These are your friends, the last thing in the world you want to do is say no.

Second, formal lobbies say basically the same things, but you didn't grow up across the street from the man or woman making their case. They sweeten their argument with a big PAC check or 1,000 letters of support from everyone on their mailing list. They are extremely effective. An example of this would be the sugar lobby. With the exception of maybe ten Congressional districts where sugar is the dominant crop, no one in the Congress could make the case for our sugar price support system without being laughed or booed out of the room. This system costs American consumers \$1 billion a year in the form of higher sugar prices, and all this benefit gets handed down to truly a few—roughly 60 domestic sugar producers. The largest of these is the Fanjul family, who get \$60 million a year of personal benefit as a result of the program. They are not even American citizens, but do reside in Palm Beach and are on the Forbes 400 list with yachts, helicopters, planes—even their own resort. Unjust—yes, but there are 270 million people in America, so that means this program costs each of us about \$4 each per year. Who is going to take a trip to Washington to save \$4 per year? No one—it's not a rational decision. For the Fanjuls it is the reverse, they have \$60 million riding on the visit and are in town in a big way.

Finally, government watches out for its own. The military very effectively uses government dollars to turn around and lobby Congress for more. I don't mind because I see the military as a core function of the federal government, but when our office went after the East West Center, I was disturbed to see public monies

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

used to craft responses used in defeating our efforts. Similarly, when I went after OPIC with TOM CAMPBELL the organization's intelligence was so good that I was getting calls from Mark Irwin and Dennis Baake. Mark I have only met a time or two at Renaissance Weekend. Dennis I have known for years; he uses OPIC funding with his company AES, but we have never before talked about OPIC. I still don't know how OPIC figured out I knew both these guys.

The bottom line is that we have a problem with spending in Washington and what this spending points to is even worse. In the early 1800's a little known Scottish historian after studying World History for the whole of his life said this:

"A democracy cannot exist as a permanent form of government it can only exist until the voters discover that they can vote themselves largesse from the public treasury. From that moment on, the majority always vote for the candidates promising the most benefits from the public treasury with the result that a democracy always collapses over loose fiscal policy, always followed by a dictatorship. The average of the world's greatest civilizations has been 200 years. These nations have progressed through this sequence:

from Bondage to Spiritual Faith;  
from Spiritual Faith to Great Courage;  
from Great Courage to Abundance;  
from Abundance to Selfishness;  
from Selfishness to Complacency;  
from Complacency to Apathy;  
from Apathy to Dependency;  
from Dependency back again into Bondage."

Tragically Alex Tyler's words have been born out by the history of the world.

Egyptians, advanced as they were, came and went—the Greeks laid the intellectual foundation for many of our government's practices but did the same. Rome, after controlling the entire known world, came to an end in 476 AD. The Byzantine Empire was around for another thousand years but ultimately crumbled as well in 1453. Italy, which dominated as the cultural center of the western world during the Renaissance, fell to Charles V in 1550 and Spain controlled one-fourth of the known world and one-half of the world's gold resources in 1588 but collapsed in the late 1600's. The Dutch had the highest per capita income in the world and controlled half of the world's shipping, but were subject to a similar decline by 1795. The Ottoman Empire was the world's largest in the 1600's then declined through the 1700's and 1800's and ended after WWI.

There are other examples, but a good part of each of these countries' or civilizations' end was tied to government overspending. Spain at the time of collapse spent forty cents of every dollar of government expenditure on interest payments which is unsustainable for a person or a country. Can you imagine spending forty cents of every dollar you earned to cover the tab on your credit card?

The bottom line is that I believe the biggest threat we have to National Security is our government's excessive spending. I have cast more than my share of votes against even suspensions and anything else that had much in the way of spending, but I have seen nothing structural to suggest people are willing to put the brakes on spending. This troubles me for our country's future. Oddly, the next economic slow-down may be our nation's best

hope in efforts to attempt to put a bridle on the federal government's spending, but currently it doesn't look good. For the sake of our Republic, I hope the elected leadership of this country wakes up to the need to do something sooner rather than later because time is beginning to run short in solving what could shortly prove to be a math trap against each of us as taxpaying Americans.

#### HONORING OLYMPIC ATHLETE CHRISTINE SMITH COLLINS

#### HON. JAMES P. MCGOVERN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, today I wish to join the City of Worcester in recognizing one of our most dedicated athletes, rower Christine Smith Collins. At the Sydney Olympics, Ms. Collins and her partner Sarah Garner captured the Bronze Medal in the lightweight double sculls.

Ms. Collins was an avid track runner before discovering rowing at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, where she received her Bachelor's Degree with honors in 1991. Rowing certainly fit her well, as she has become the most decorated female rower in U.S. history. She has been an eight time national champion, won four world titles, and six world championship medals.

In addition to her success on the water, Ms. Collins is also a practicing attorney, receiving her degree from George Washington Law School in 1998. She was a law clerk to the Justices of the Superior Court of Massachusetts and is currently an associate at the law firm of Bowditch and Dewey, LLP in Worcester, Massachusetts.

Ms. Collins resides in Worcester with her husband Matt Collins, a physician at Family Health Center in Worcester and himself a former member of the U.S. Rowing Team and 1993 World Champion. I greatly admire her many accomplishments, both in and out of the water. Mr. Speaker, I ask that this House join me and the City of Worcester in honoring this tremendous athlete and to wish her much continued success in the future.

#### IN HONOR OF JANE L. CAMPBELL

#### HON. DENNIS J. KUCINICH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, I wish today to congratulate Jane L. Campbell, the outstanding Commissioner from Cuyahoga County, Ohio who was recently named one of nine Public Officials of the Year by Governing Magazine.

As one of three Cuyahoga Commissioners for the most populous county in Ohio, Campbell manages human services, economics, infrastructure development and re-development and also oversees a budget larger than that of ten states. However, Campbell takes her job as County Commissioner far beyond these traditional duties. Currently, she is President of the Board of County Commissioners, Chairwoman of the Violence Against Women Act Com-

mittee and Children Who Witness Violence Committee, and a Board Member of the District One Public Works Integrating Committee (DOPWIC). Also, Campbell represents the County at the National Association of Counties and the County Commissioners Association of Ohio, and she was recently elected the Vice Chair of the National Democratic County Officials.

Jane Campbell is a natural leader. At just 47 years old, Campbell is already a seasoned politician, winning her first state legislative seat when she was still in her 20's. She successfully served six terms in the Ohio House of Representatives, where she was elected Majority Whip and Assistant Minority Leader by her colleagues. Over the course of her 12 years in office, Campbell had a strong record for children and families, law enforcement, development and welfare. In addition to being a talented legislator, Campbell was the founding Executive Director of WomenSpace, Executive Director of the Friends of Shaker Square and National Field Director of ERAmerica.

Campbell's hard work has earned her a number of awards and honors including, Crain's Cleveland Business Woman of Influence, One of the 100 Most Influential Women in Cleveland by Cleveland Magazine, A Woman to Watch in the 90's by Ms Magazine, One of 100 Young Women of Promise by Good Housekeeping, and Rookie of the Term by Columbus Monthly.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my fellow colleagues in the House of Representatives to join me today in recognizing Commissioner Jane Campbell. She is a truly remarkable woman who should be commended for her immeasurable contributions to our community and her endless dedication to public service.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

#### HON. PATRICK J. KENNEDY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably detained and missed the following votes: Roll Call No. 531, No. 532, No. 533, No. 570–576, No. 584–590, No. 592, No. 593, No. 594.

Had I been here I would have voted: Yea on No. 531, No. 532, No. 533, No. 570, No. 571, No. 572, No. 573, No. 574, No. 575, No. 576, No. 584, No. 585, No. 586, No. 587; Nay on No. 588; and Yea on No. 589, No. 590, No. 592, No. 593, No. 594.

#### ESTATE TAXES

#### HON. MARSHALL "MARK" SANFORD

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to share the thoughts of a man whom I respected deeply, John Monroe J. Holliday. John did many things in South Carolina, one of which was host the Gallivants Ferry Stump. The Stump is a 180-year-old tradition built on kicking around political ideas face-to-face. It has been a spot where people in that part of rural South Carolina gathered and I've always

enjoyed the chance to attend and compare notes and ideas with farmers and city folks alike. I have always considered myself a token Republican at this Democratic event, but it did me well as my elections have been won with the help of Democrats in western Horry County. John passed away last month and he will be missed by many South Carolinians.

One of the issues that John was very passionate about was the estate tax. Many times he wrote to me urging a change to the law. Two days before he died, he drafted a letter to me on the current estate tax policy in our country. I will let his final words on the subject speak for him.

I submit the following letter for the RECORD:

HOLLIDAY ASSOCIATES, LLC,  
Galivants Ferry, SC, October 19, 2000.

Congressman MARK SANFORD,  
Longworth Building,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR MARK: The Holliday family has faced increased estate taxes on an annual basis for such a long time, and this increase is a result of Congress's failure to adjust the gift and estate tax exclusion by inflation. In 1987 the amount each individual could shelter from estate taxes was \$600,000—in addition to the annual gift tax exclusion for each individual which I believe was \$10,000. Margy and I have constantly taken advantage of the estate gift tax exclusion—in fact each year we were able to give to our daughters a total of \$40,000.

From December 1986 to December 1987, the consumer price inflation rose from 109.6 to 113.3 or a little more than 3.6%. If both the gift and estate exclusions had been adjusted for this 3.6% inflation increase, we could have transferred an additional \$50,840 to our children tax free. This is only a part of the additional benefits our family could have been entitled to. Any of the earnings on the \$50,840 would have been excluded from our estate. If we assume a 10% annual growth rate from 1988 to the present, over \$159,000 would have been excluded.

If we use these same assumptions and recalculate each year the impact that these hidden estate tax increases have on our estate, my family should have been entitled to a total exclusion of more than \$8.8 million. The end result is that the estate will pay over \$4,840,000 more in estate taxes!

The reality is that Congress has intentionally allowed the annual increases to take place under their current theory of "the rich are too rich". To avoid the wrath that they would have faced if the tax increases had been legislated, they have avoided accountability by allowing inflation to do their dirty work.

The failure to adjust exemptions like the estate and gift tax exclusions is nothing but a hidden tax increase! I believe as a result of these increases that it is more than appropriate for Congress to redress this injustice by making significant changes in the estate and gift tax exclusions.

I apologize for this long letter but some adjustments must be made to help this horrible situation.

With warm regards, I am

Yours very truly,

JOHN MONROE J. HOLLIDAY.

## HONORING THE SHREWSBURY ROTARY CLUB

**HON. JAMES P. MCGOVERN**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I wish today to congratulate the Shrewsbury Rotary Club of Massachusetts, which is being recognized for exemplary involvement in community service. The Shrewsbury Rotary Club has been chosen as the 2000 recipient of The Harry Cutting, Jr. Award. This award is presented annually by Shrewsbury Community Services to an individual or organization that has worked to improve the lives of local families. Harry Cutting was a founding member of Shrewsbury Community Services and was dedicated to helping families in need.

The Shrewsbury Rotary Club exemplifies the meaning of community service and what Harry Cutting stood for as a member of this community. The club is involved on both the international and the local level, helping those in need. They have worked in conjunction with the University of Massachusetts Medical Center to transport medical supplies to Chernobyl and established the first rotary club in Kiev where they have formed a partnership and continue to assist those citizens in need. On the local level, they support the ecumenical council, assist in the local schools, lend a helping hand to senior citizens, and provide college scholarships to help local students pay for college.

I have a great appreciation for what this group has done to benefit the Shrewsbury community and I am especially proud of their accomplishments. Mr. Speaker, I ask that this House join me and the members of Shrewsbury Community Services in congratulating the Shrewsbury Rotary Club on receiving this prestigious award.

IN HONOR OF DR. CLAIRE A. VAN  
UMMERSON'S SERVICES TO  
CLEVELAND STATE UNIVERSITY

**HON. DENNIS J. KUCINICH**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor of Dr. Claire A. Van Ummerson's outstanding dedication to serving the higher educational needs of the Cleveland area.

Claire A. Van Ummerson, Cleveland State University president since 1993, will leave the school by the end of June to take up a new position on the American Council on Education in Washington, DC. She has a long and prestigious career in the field of higher education. From 1986 through to 1992, Dr. Van Ummerson served as chancellor of the University System of New Hampshire. She has also been associated with the University of Massachusetts in Boston for many years in a variety of roles, including associate vice chancellor for Academic Affairs.

Dr. Van Ummerson's philosophy which is based on partnerships has been instrumental in ensuring progress at Cleveland State University. She advocates working with school systems, other universities, research institutes

and businesses to strengthen academic programs and enhance the school's capacity to respond to the needs of the region. Such a philosophy demonstrates a true understanding of the education system and its interaction with the community as a whole.

Dr. Van Ummerson's contribution to education can be seen in the stature of Cleveland State University in our community. The University, which serves the educational needs of northeast Ohio, offers 65 undergraduate programs and has approximately 15,500 students. Its mission to promote an open and inclusive educational environment for members of the community has been served well under Dr. Van Ummerson's leadership.

My fellow distinguished colleagues, please join me in honoring Dr. Claire Van Ummerson's outstanding work as President of Cleveland State University, and in wishing her all the best for her future career in Washington, DC.

## LET THE STATES PLAN TRANSPORTATION PROJECTS

**HON. BOB SCHAFFER**

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. SCHAFFER. Mr. Speaker, as most Americans know, Members of Congress are frequently successful in attaching extraneous pieces of reauthorizing legislation to appropriations bills. These attachments are called "riders." These are last-minute attempts to pass legislative language that typically has not been subject to the standard deliberative process in committee and on the floor of the House. The FY 2001 Labor, Health, and Human Services Appropriations bill is no exception.

This appropriations bill contains a rider that could potentially have a negative impact on many of the 21 counties I represent in the 4th District of Colorado. It could adversely affect safety on Colorado Interstate 25, and would go against a fundamental position the Colorado Department of Transportation has consistently held firm. Termed the "Ports-to-Plains Corridor," this route is part of the national plan to facilitate transportation of goods from Mexico to the central West.

The Ports-to-Plains Corridor was given a designation as a high priority corridor in the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century Act of 1998. The language designates, "the Ports-to-Plains Corridor from the Mexican Border via I-27 to Denver, Colorado." It is my understanding Members of Congress and Senators from Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado negotiated a plan to attach language into the Fiscal Year 2001 Labor, Health, and Human Services Appropriations bill designating the Ports-to-Plains Corridor route from Laredo, Texas, to Dumas, Texas. It is also my understanding proponents of this route designation have previously attempted but failed to attach this language to the FY 2001 Transportation Appropriation bill and the FY 2001 District of Columbia Appropriation bill. Unfortunately, there are many problems with this truncated designation.

Mr. Speaker, in Colorado's Fourth Congressional District, city officials, county officials, and constituents in Baca, Prowers, Kiowa, Cheyenne, Lincoln, Kit Carson, Elbert,

Arapahoe, Adams, Washington, Yuma, Morgan, Logan, Phillips, and Sedgwick counties have been in close contact with me since 1998 as we planned, along with state and federal offices, where the Port-to-Plains corridor would run through these eastern plains counties of Colorado. The economy on the eastern plains of Colorado, heavily dependent upon farming, ranching, and businesses associated with agriculture, is struggling as the farm economy across the nation currently is. Obviously, the Ports-to-Plains Trade Corridor would aid in the rejuvenation of this struggling agricultural economy as more commerce would be moving through the area, thereby creating opportunity for new business and jobs on the America's high plains.

Mr. Speaker, I am concerned there is a strong possibility the Ports-to-Plains Corridor could bypass eastern Colorado by proceeding northwest from Dumas, Texas, through New Mexico, and onto Interstate 25. Should proponents of the rider be successful in attaching the language to the FY 2001 Labor, Health, and Human Services Appropriation bill, there is a good chance eastern Colorado would not be included in the Ports-to-Plains Trade Corridor. Obviously, I cannot vote for a bill possibly allowing a tremendous economic plan for so many of the constituents I represent to slip away.

There are other problems with this premature designation. The four affected States, Colorado, Texas, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, are participating in a federally funded highway study entitled the Ports-to-Plains Corridor Feasibility Study. The study is being conducted by independent consulting firm Wilbur Smith Associates. The Texas Department of Transportation initially contracted Wilbur Smith Associates to conduct the study which was funded by the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA). The Colorado, Texas, New Mexico, and Oklahoma departments of transportation sit on the Ports-to-Plains Feasibility Study Steering Committee so as to maximize communication and opportunities between the four states.

According to Wilbur Smith Associates, the purpose of the study is to "to determine the feasibility of highway improvements between Denver, Colorado and the Texas/Mexico border, via existing IH 27 corridor between Amarillo and Lubbock, Texas." Wilbur Smith Associates has diligently kept the public informed by public meetings. "Two series of public meetings will be conducted for this project. . . . The second series of public meetings to be held around mid-January 2001 will present findings of the detailed evaluation of alternatives," according to Wilbur Smith Associates. The Transportation Subcommittee on Appropriations crafted the Ports-to-Plains Corridor project around the dates of this feasibility so as to allow the state departments of transportation ample time to make a recommendation to their elected federal officials.

Wilbur Smith Associates informs me the target completion for the draft report is March 2001, while the target completion date of the final report is April or May 2001. Mr. Speaker, why proceed with route designations before the study to determine the best route is completed? I would encourage the Congress to slow down and allow Wilbur Smith Associates to complete this federally funded highway study before the federal government is allowed to supersede local and state authority, and preclude suitable public input.

Mr. Speaker, this is not the only highway study being conducted regarding the Ports-to-Plains Trade Corridor. The Colorado Department of Transportation (CDOT) will soon conduct its own study entitled "The Eastern Colorado Mobility Study." According to CDOT, the "purpose is to identify the feasibility of improving existing and/or building possible future transportation corridors and inter-modal terminals in eastern Colorado that will enhance the mobility of freight services within and through eastern Colorado." While the Eastern Colorado Mobility Study will be a comprehensive study, it will incorporate the Ports-to-Plains Trade Corridor. According to the Project Manager at CDOT, it has selected a consulting team, but the contract has not even been finalized. Mr. Speaker, again, why designate even a portion of a major trade corridor when the studies designed to plan the corridor have not even begun? For the RECORD, I will submit with these remarks a letter from the Executive Director of the Colorado Department of Transportation requesting no specific highway segments in Colorado be designated. The rider designating the specific route through Texas most likely will have an effect upon Colorado, so in order to uphold the wishes of the State of Colorado, I cannot condone a premature specific designation.

There is another matter at stake which potentially supersedes all others, and this is the issue of safety. The Colorado Department of Transportation has consistently and strongly opposed a route designation which would result in heavier traffic on Interstate 25. CDOT opposes more truck traffic on I-25, particularly between the congested I-25 segment of Pueblo and Fort Collins. Mr. Speaker, I hereby submit Colorado Resolution TC-798 for the RECORD, crafted by the Colorado Department of Transportation, detailing CDOT's specific position on this safety issue. Again, there is no way I can vote for the Fiscal Year 2001 Labor, Health, and Human Services Appropriations bill when it contains a provision that would cause a severe safety hazard along the most congested interstate and contradict the Colorado Department of Transportation's adamant position.

Additionally, Mr. Speaker, I understand there is language regarding the Ports-to-Plains Corridor mandating the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) submit a route recommendation to the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations, the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, and the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee should Colorado, Texas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico not reach a unified consensus by September 30, 2001. While I understand obtaining route consensus between the involved states is an arduous task, I believe the September 30, 2001 deadline will be difficult to achieve considering the magnitude of the Ports-to-Plains Trade Corridor. Furthermore, I am concerned the FHWA's decision might not be the most appropriate one, and possibly would go against the relevant state departments of transportation studies and agreements. Highway planning should be determined by local governments and state departments of transportation, not dictated by a few. Mr. Speaker, it would be most prudent for Congress to withdraw this unwarranted rider included in the FY 2001 Labor, Health and Human Services Appropriation bill.

STATE OF COLORADO,  
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION,  
Denver, CO, May 9, 2000.  
Hon. ROBERT SCHAFFER,  
U.S. House of Representatives, Cannon House  
Office Building, Washington, DC.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SCHAFFER: CDOT is very interested in the Borders and Corridors Program for Colorado and certainly would like to have a designation. However, there are several north-south corridors in eastern Colorado under consideration. It is difficult to determine at this time which corridor would best serve the interests of the people of Colorado as well as appropriate connections with neighboring states. The Transportation Commission needs to make a policy decision on this issue before proceeding with any official designation. CDOT is initiating a Feasibility Study to determine the best corridor for the state and provide a connecting corridor from the Texas Ports to Plains Transportation Corridor to the Heartland Express Corridor. This effort will be underway later this year.

Therefore, we would request that no specific highway segments in Colorado be designated until the Feasibility Study has been completed.

Sincerely,

THOMAS E. NORTON,  
Executive Director.

From: Cavaliere, Dianne  
Sent: Friday, January 21, 2000  
To: Phillips, Joel  
Subject: Ports to Plains Resolution

Resolution Number TC-798

Whereas, Ports to Plains was identified in TEA 21 as a "High Priority Corridor" in the "Borders and Corridors" Program; and

Whereas, CDOT supports this program as a long term corridor optimization program for trade and commerce pursuant to NAFTA; and

Whereas, the Ports to Plains program coincides with the Transportation Commission's policy for Management of the Transportation System by ensuring partnership with local governments, as well as other states, in order to facilitate the movement of people, goods, information and services; and

Whereas, CDOT is committed diverting traffic from congested segments of I-25 through infrastructure improvement in eastern Colorado and views the Ports to Plains program as an opportunity to pursue such goals.

Now, therefore, be it resolved that CDOT supports the Ports to Plains Feasibility Study (sponsored by TxDOT) and the pursuit of Federal discretionary funding for Ports to Plains through the "Borders and Corridors" program.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. JULIA CARSON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 2000

Ms. CARSON. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably absent yesterday, Monday, November 13, 2000, and as a result, missed rollcall votes 595 through 596. Had I been present, I would have voted "nay" on rollcall vote 595, "yea" on rollcall vote 596.

THE LIFE OF CONGRESSMAN  
SIDNEY YATES

**HON. DANNY K. DAVIS**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, good morning. Today we gather with one accord to pay respect to the memory of our colleague Sid Yates. Public servant, staunch advocate of freedom of expression, leader, father, and friend, Mr. Yates' life is a true testament of the greatness one can achieve in this country when he has a good heart and character, a focused mind, and a determination to succeed.

Mr. Yates has never been a stranger to the ethic of hard work and leadership. Born in Chicago at the beginning of the 20th Century, Sidney Yates learned at an early age how to grapple with and overcome the trappings of adversity. Equipped with an arsenal of courage, he has conquered the lion's share of lows with true fighting spirit and has emerged victoriously. Losing both parents by the age of five, Mr. Yates was left with the responsibility of raising his younger sister and his little brother. In order to provide for his siblings, Mr. Yates worked as a carpenter for most of his childhood. At a time when most children are afforded the opportunity to hope, dream, play, and learn, Mr. Yates was forced to think in real terms. As a young provider, he was forced to make decisions that had an immediate impact on the lives of his loved-ones. As a champion, Mr. Yates accepted his role without reservations.

His role as leader eventually extended beyond his immediate family as he began a life of community service and public advocacy. He held numerous posts and positions on the local and state level. However, it was an upset victory in 1948 that brought Mr. Yates to Capitol Hill as a Representative of the 9th District of Illinois.

As Congressman, Mr. Yates proved to be a capable and effective leader. Not only was he successful in responding to the needs of his diverse constituency—born the son of Lithuanian Immigrants—Yates understood the importance of pushing the envelope and entertained innovative ideas and progressive policies that widened the scope to explore the unknown.

Mr. Yates' record of public service has left an indelible mark of greatness. His efforts have led to many historic victories. He has been a patron and protector of the Arts—As Langston Hughes would say, life for Sid Yates "ain't been no crystal stair. It's had a lot of cracks and holes in it; but he held on to his dreams for he knew that if dreams die, life becomes like a broken winged bird that cannot fly." Yes, Sid Yates continued to dream and continued to soar until his last days.

Thank You Sid!

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

**HON. ALLEN BOYD**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. BOYD. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably delayed on rollcall votes 595 and 596. Had I been present, I would have voted "nay" on both 595 and 596.

RECOGNITION OF STAFF SERGEANT GEORGE K. GANNAM FOR BEING AWARDED A PURPLE HEART FOR HIS SERVICE IN WORLD WAR II

**HON. JACK KINGSTON**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, today I recognize a great American hero, from my district Savannah, GA, George K. Gannam, for being awarded a purple heart for his service in World War II. We should all stand up and applaud Mr. Gannam for his dedication and service to our country. He was a brave and heroic man and deserves to be recognized as such.

Mr. Gannam was killed in the Japanese attack on Hickam Field on December 7, 1941. He was the first person from Chatham County to die in World War II. An eye witness reports that Mr. Gannam received mortal wounds while assisting other airmen to remove airplanes from a burning hangar during the height of the attack. Medical records indicate that Mr. Gannam died of multiple shrapnel and machine gun bullet wounds. As a result of his heroic actions he was awarded a purple heart.

The American Legion Post #184 in Thunderbolt, GA was named after him. This is a great recognition and will help keep his name alive for years to come.

Mr. Gannam's presence and dedication to our country helped insure the freedom we enjoy today. His unselfish acts made a difference to the families of each person he helped. America's military has always served with pride meeting the challenges necessary to maintain our national security, to protect American interests at home and abroad, and to guarantee our freedoms and way of life, and Americans owe them a great deal.

Please join me again in applauding Mr. Gannam. The dedication of this brave man helped shape our history. Without him our country's history would be different. Our society needs more people like him who unselfishly dedicate and give their lives as they fight for freedom for our country. This man was a very brave person and deserves to be recognized as an American Hero. I am pleased to submit a tribute of his life in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

IN RECOGNITION OF STATE REPRESENTATIVE JIM BUCHY FOR HIS SERVICE TO OHIO

**HON. PAUL E. GILLMOR**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. GILLMOR. Mr. Speaker, I wish today to recognize an extraordinary member of the Ohio House of Representatives and his outstanding contribution and dedication to the State of Ohio. Representative Jim Buchy currently serves as Assistant Majority Leader, representing the 84th House District.

During Representative Buchy's tenure, he has focused on myriad issues that make him a recognizable name in Ohio politics. Several years ago, Representative Buchy sponsored legislation to reform the tort system in the

State of Ohio. His efforts in this area have dramatically advanced the need for tort reform. Another important focus of Representative Buchy's work has been in the area of agriculture. He represents one of the most productive agricultural districts in the State of Ohio. He has championed legislation that streamlines farmer's responsibilities while balancing the need to protect our environment.

In eighteen years of service, Representative Buchy has received countless awards and recognition from various organizations. He has received numerous honors from the United Conservatives of Ohio, the Golden Feather Award from the Ohio Poultry Association, and the Outstanding Service Award in support of Vocational Education. Additionally, he has been honored by the National Federation of Independent Business as a Guardian of Small Business and has received the Ronald Reagan Excellence in Government Award.

I would also like to recognize his wife, Sharon, and their two children, John and Kathryn, for supporting Representative Buchy's efforts in the Ohio House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, Representative Jim Buchy is an asset to the State of Ohio and to his constituents. I ask my colleagues of the 106th Congress to join me in commending him for his eighteen years of service and to wish him the best in all of his future endeavors.

HONORING DR. MARCIA POSNER AND PHYLLIS AND STANLEY SANDERS

**HON. CAROLYN MCCARTHY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, today I commend the outstanding service of Dr. Marcia Posner and Phyllis and Stanley Sanders as they are honored by the Holocaust Memorial and Educational Center of Nassau County.

For the past eight years, the Holocaust Memorial and Educational Center for Nassau County has honored citizens who make selfless contributions of time and effort, not only to the Jewish community, but to the community at large. This year, they chose three wonderfully committed and inspiring individuals.

Dr. Marcia Posner works as a librarian and administrator at the Holocaust Memorial and Educational Center. Through her tireless work ethic she developed a library containing over 3,000 volumes and tapes, amassing a wealth of resources about the Holocaust. As Vice President of Programming, Dr. Posner is responsible for the development and execution of a large number of the programs, making the Center a pillar in the Long Island community.

Phyllis and Stanley Sanders exhibited exceptional leadership bringing success and benefits to countless organizations. Over the years, Phyllis and Stanley, often referred to as the "Dynamic Duo," committed themselves to a variety of causes affecting the Jewish community. Together, they are responsible, among other accomplishments, for education fundraising and air-lifting refugees from Russia to Israel. Their inexhaustible and creative efforts continue to inspire a multitude of organizations toward achieving higher goals.

I applaud the service and commitment of Dr. Marcia Posner and Phyllis and Stanley Sanders. The Long Island community as a whole

benefits from the dedication of these individuals.

**PATRICK JOSEPH DEVLIN, JR.  
MAKES HIS MARK ON THE WORLD**

**HON. BOB ETHERIDGE**

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. ETHERIDGE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate a member of my staff Mr. Patrick Devlin and his wife Helen on the birth of their first child, Master Patrick Joseph Devlin, Jr. Patrick was born on Saturday, November 11, 2000 and weighed 6 pounds and 14 ounces. Faye joins me in wishing Pat and Helen great happiness during this very special time in their lives.

Incidentally, Helen is a member of my colleague from Kentucky Mr. LEWIS' staff and I know he joins me in celebrating this new addition to both of our extended families.

As a father of three, I know the immeasurable pride and rewarding challenge that children bring into your life. Their innocence keeps you young-at-heart. Through their inquiring minds and wide-eyed wonder, they show you the world in a fresh, new way and change your perspective on life. A little miracle, a new baby holds all the potential of what human beings can achieve.

In this vein, I welcome young Patrick into the world and wish Pat and Helen all the best as they raise him.

**A TRIBUTE HONORING MR.  
ROBERT DOYLE STOCK**

**HON. GRACE F. NAPOLITANO**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a very special American citizen, Mr. Robert Doyle Stock of Norwalk, California, who passed away on November 5, 2000. Mr. Stock, a devoted family man, who led an exemplary life of service to family and country, deserves our praise and gratitude.

Bob Stock was a man of great character. Born on January 13, 1927 in Mount Pleasant, Pennsylvania, his family moved to California after the passing of his father, when Bob was still a child. Once in California, Mr. Stock attended Downey Junior High and later moved on to South Gate High School.

In 1944, at the age of seventeen, Mr. Stock joined the United States Marine Corps. He served as a rifleman in the Baker Assault Company 1st battalion, 22nd Marines, 6th Division and actively served in the invasion of Okinawa towards the end of hostilities in the Pacific Theater.

On his return stateside, Mr. Stock married Mildred Evelyn Dvorak on June 21, 1947. Bob and Mildred bought their first home in Norwalk in 1949, and raised nine children; Becky, Colleen, Bill, Roberta, Cathy, Susanna, John, Richard and Robert.

Mr. Stock was always proud to belong to the Greatest Generation which fought for the triumph of freedom over tyranny during World War II. A proud Irishman, he enjoyed reading,

politics, remodeling his home, hunting, fishing and camping. Of particular interest to Bob was the Civil War, as evidenced by his collection of books and memorabilia that filled his den.

On Sunday, November 5 of this year, Bob left us while sitting in his den, on his favorite chair, while surrounded by his loving wife, children and grandchildren.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join with me in paying tribute to Robert D. Stock, honorable citizen of the United States, proud American veteran and patriot, devoted husband, father and grandfather. To his devoted wife Millie, my dear friend and neighbor, I extend my sincerest sympathy and pray for God's blessings in abundance upon her and her family.

**STATEWIDE HONORS GIVEN TO  
LEXINGTON, MISSOURI**

**HON. IKE SKELTON**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, let me take this means to congratulate Mayor Tom Hayes and the residents of Lexington, Missouri, for recently being honored by the Missouri Department of Economic Development.

Each year, the Missouri Department of Economic Development acknowledges community leaders and cities throughout the Show-Me State for their efforts in bolstering local community development. The Department's Missouri Community Betterment program, which is the oldest, continuous state-sponsored community improvement project in the nation, is designed to encourage communities to strengthen development ventures and create more jobs for Missourians.

In 2000, a number of Missouri's towns were honored at the 37th Annual Missouri Community Betterment Conference. One of the municipalities to receive statewide acclaim is my hometown of Lexington, Missouri, which received the 2nd place state award in its city category, the 2nd place state award in its category for Youth Leadership, and the coveted designation of "All Missouri Certified City".

Mr. Speaker, I am proud that the people of Lexington under the leadership of Mayor Tom Hayes have worked to improve economic development and ensure employment for those individuals who reside in Lexington and the surrounding area. I am certain that my colleagues in the House of Representatives will join me in honoring these fine Americans for receiving these well-deserved awards.

**CHRISTINA TORRICELLI AND THE  
FOOD DEPOT**

**HON. TOM UDALL**

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. UDALL of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to an outstanding individual and a friend, Christina Torricelli. I would like to recognize the dedication and hard work rendered by Ms. Torricelli and her staff at the Food Depot in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Their intense and tireless efforts and commitment to

alleviate hunger in New Mexico have resulted in feeding over 30,000 individuals a year in the northern part of my State. Over half of these individuals are under the age of 18.

In 1993, a study conducted by Tufts University estimated that New Mexico was second only to Mississippi in the percent of citizens that go hungry on a regular basis. This study initiated conversations between existing hunger relief organizations about accessing more food donations to address the increasing need for emergency food. As a result, The Food Depot was created. Today, the organization has established community partnerships with over fifty-five non-profit programs with services available, but not limited to homeless shelters, soup kitchens, low income families, the elderly, the physically/mentally challenged, disadvantaged children, those recovering from violence, and the homeless due to illness.

I must pay the Food Depot an overdue compliment on their actions during the devastating Cerro Grande fire, which occurred earlier this year in my district. This fire left hundreds homeless, but because of the labor of the Food Depot, they did not go hungry. The third day of the fire Ms. Torricelli and other staff members were up at 3 a.m., exhausted and trying to unload trucks of food and water donations. She asked a television station to broadcast an appeal for help. Within 15 minutes she had an additional 20 volunteers.

The Food Depot has ensured that I am fully informed on issues related to ending hunger. Ms. Torricelli is especially fond of my colleague, Representative TONY HALL, who has done so much for the issues of ending poverty and hunger.

Mr. Speaker, Christina Torricelli is dedicated to improving life and ending hunger for New Mexico. I have tremendous respect for her. Although many view Christina's deeds as transcendent of human kindness, to her it is just a way of life.

**YATES TRIBUTE**

**HON. JUANITA MILLENDER-McDONALD**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Ms. MILLENDER-McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, the late great Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. once said, "Every man must decide if he will walk in the light of creative altruism or the darkness of destructive selfishness. This is the judgment. Life's most urgent and persistent question is what are you doing for others?" If service is the judgment, then heaven's gates have greeted the late Congressman Sidney R. Yates with open arms. Mr. Yates spent his life tirelessly, shamelessly, and unselfishly advocating for others who would have otherwise gone unheard. Our country would be a much better place if we all did.

Although our nation is a great one, it has not . . . because our laws and our statesmen, have not, always served the interests of certain persons and certain disciplines very well. However, in his more than sixty years of public service, Sidney Yates always did. I applaud him as a protector of the arts, a protector of the environment, a protector of children, and a protector of civil rights. His advocacy in these areas has never wavered.

I do not merely regard Mr. Yates as a great statesman for what he did, but when he did what he did. Sidney Yates has often stood up for people when doing so was not only unpopular, but in many instances, taboo. His advocacy for civil rights predates back to the 1940s, even though the Civil Rights Act was not passed until 1964. As the last of the New Deal Democrats and against the persistence of an emerging Grand Old Party majority in the 1990s, he fought to save, and did save, the National Education Association, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the nuclear submarine program. Furthermore, his leadership efforts have saved innumerable national parks and led to the establishment of the National Memorial Holocaust Museum. These are but a few of his contributions. Perhaps even more intriguing than what he accomplished was how he went about his work.

Although Congressman Yates was a hard worker, he, unlike many of us, was a rather silent and modest one. In his close to fifty years on Capitol Hill, he never held a press conference. He never even had a press secretary. He conducted his affairs and gained the trust and respect of his constituents the old-fashioned way. He earned it one act and one handshake at a time.

Although Sidney goes down as a member of Congress who served for the longest period of time, serving twenty-four full terms, his status when leaving the House in 1998 did not reflect that. His service record was interrupted in 1962 when he ran for a seat in the United States Senate for which he was unsuccessful. Although he won his U.S. House of Representatives seat back in 1964, but for his lack of continuity, he ranked 27th on the House Appropriations Committee when he otherwise would have been chairman. Although frustrated, as any of us would be, his manner of working and dedication to the betterment of life for America's citizens never faltered. A well-deserved honor, in 1993, toward the end of his career, President Clinton bestowed the Presidential Citizens Medal of Honor on Congressman Yates for his efforts on behalf of the arts and humanities.

Mr. Yates' belief has always been "[e]very civilization throughout history, you know, has been judged not by its military conquests but by its civilized achievements." He lived his life with this quote as his guide. Let it guide our lives. As we bid farewell to the great Sidney Yates, may his spirit of service to every American forever live in all of us.

#### GUAM INSURANCE WEEK

#### HON. ROBERT A. UNDERWOOD

OF GUAM

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, the governor of Guam has designated the week of November 12–18, 2000 as "Insurance Week." The focus of this proclamation is the Guam Association of Life Underwriters (GALU), a territorial chapter of the National Association of Insurance and Financial Advisors (NAIFA).

Chartered in 1972, the GALU is currently comprised of licensed general agents and subagents of the life insurance industry on the island of Guam. At the very onset of its inception, GALU worked toward bringing the indus-

try together in order to improve the quality of products and services to the people of Guam. Between 1972 until 1990, GALU leaders David Cassidy, Carl Peterson, Charles Paulino, Frank Cruz and Evelyn Blas set the course which the association was to take. Under their leadership and guidance, GALU survived periods of economic slumps.

In the 1990's, past presidents Ben Toves, Frank B. Salas, Jess M. Dela Cruz, and Robert L. Wade Sr., worked toward providing continuing education for licensed agents. Together with the Guam Insurance Commissioner and the University of Guam, GALU made it possible for LUTC life insurance courses to be offered to agents on Guam. LUTC, the premier provider of sales skills training for the life and health insurance industry, enables local agents to achieve their highest potential through professional skills and leadership development training.

GALU's efforts toward the passage of Guam Public Law 25–134 further ensured the promotion of professionalism within the island's insurance industry. The law which requires 15 classroom hours per year for license renewal ensures that members remain in compliance with the rules and regulations of the insurance industry. In addition, personal enrichment among agents is also fostered by these annual sessions.

"Insurance Week" culminates with an induction ball to be held on November 17. At this point, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate GALU's 2000–2001 Executive Officers: Fred Magdalera, President; Bobby Shringi, Vice President; Lourdes CN Ada, Secretary; Danilo S. Cruz, Treasurer; and the Board of Directors: Mercy Alegre, Jess Dela Cruz, Thad Jones, James Moylan, Patrick Matanane, John Baza and Roger Surban. I am sure that these officers will more than meet the challenge of operating in a rapidly changing environment. As they take upon the responsibilities of their respective posts, I wish these individuals the best for their ensuing terms. As we celebrate "Insurance Week," I commend the Guam Association of Life Underwriters for the excellent service it has provided the island and people of Guam.

#### IN RECOGNITION OF STATE SENATOR GRACE DRAKE FOR HER SERVICE TO OHIO

#### HON. PAUL E. GILLMOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. GILLMOR. Mr. Speaker, I wish today to recognize an extraordinary member of the Ohio Senate for her outstanding contribution and dedication to the State of Ohio. Senator Grace Drake currently serves as a Senator from Ohio's 22nd Senatorial district, which includes a portion of Cuyahoga County and all of Medina and Wayne counties.

As Chairperson of the Senate Health Committee since 1989, she has received countless awards for her work to ensure access to high quality, affordable health care for all Ohioans. She was also instrumental in the overhaul of Ohio's domestic relations laws, working to ensure that a child's needs are considered the top priority when determining custody.

Senator Drake has received awards and commendations from a wide variety of groups.

She has received the Ohio Bar Association Distinguished Service Award, was inducted into the Ohio Women's Hall of Fame, received the President's Award for Distinguished Service from the Ohio Speech and Hearing Association, and she is a four time winner of the Watchdog of the Treasury award from the Unite Conservatives of Ohio. Additionally, she has received numerous awards for her work in the area of health care. The Ohio Hospital Association, the Ohio Academy of Nursing Homes, and the County Boards of Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities each have recognized her for distinguished service. She received an Honorary Doctorate in Public Administration from Cleveland State University and an Honorary Masters Degree in Anesthesiology from Case Western Reserve University.

Mr. Speaker, Senator Drake is a caring and effective legislator for the State of Ohio, and more specifically, for her constituents. I ask my colleagues of the 106th Congress to join me in commending her for her seventeen years of service and to wish her all the best in her future endeavors.

#### CARSON COMMENDS THE EINHORNS FOR CIVIC VIRTUE

#### HON. JULIA CARSON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Ms. CARSON. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to commend to the nation two distinguished citizens of Indianapolis, Claudette and Dr. Lawrence Einhorn. On Sunday, November 19, 2000, they are to be especially honored at the Indianapolis-Israel Dinner of State in Indiana's 10th Congressional District.

These true friends of the city have lived their lives as models of civic virtue for all to emulate. Claudette taught school and worked as a social worker before undertaking the challenge of motherhood, then operated her own small business. She has actively engaged with the work of Gleaner's Food Bank, the Dayspring Center Family Shelter, Meridian Street Co-Op, Dialogue Today, Arts Indiana, the Indianapolis Public School Education Foundation, and Common Cause and many other charitable and community organizations. She has served well the Jewish Community Center, the Jewish Community Relations Council, the Jewish Federation of Greater Indianapolis, the National Council of Jewish Women and Congressional Beth El Zedeck.

Dr. Einhorn, Distinguished Professor of Medicine at Indiana University and former President of the American Society of Clinical Oncology, is especially renowned as a collaborator in the development of the Einhorn Regimen, instrumental in vast reductions in the mortality rate for advanced testicular cancer. He has been honored with the Claude Jacquillat Award, the University of Utah Cartwright Award, the Dartmouth University Kaner Award, the University of Nebraska Carol Bell Cancer Award and has been named an Honorary Citizen of Paris.

Individually and together, the Einhorn family personify the best traditions of service to the larger world. I ask, Mr. Speaker, that you and my other distinguished colleagues join me in commending each of the Einhorn family for their lives of

service to Indianapolis, to the Tenth Congressional District, to the nation and to the world.

## WORLD WAR II MEMORIAL GROUNDBREAKING

**HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to comment on an important event which took place last weekend in Washington. This past Saturday, I joined President Bill Clinton, Secretary of Defense William Cohen, former Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin Powell, former Senator Bob Dole, motion picture actor Tom Hanks, and more than 10,000 World War II veterans and their families for the groundbreaking ceremonies for the new World War II Memorial in the Nation's Capital.

The official groundbreaking ceremony took place at a 7.4 acre site on the Mall, halfway between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial. The site for the Memorial had been previously dedicated on veterans day in 1995, with construction on the memorial expected to be finished by Memorial Day 2003.

As one of eleven World War II veterans who are current members of the House, I was pleased to be able to participate in this ceremony.

World War II was not only the defining event of our generation, it was the most significant event in the history of the world. This World War II Memorial is long overdue. It is important that it is completed while many of us who participated in the hostilities remain as witnesses.

The ground-breaking ceremony was made possible after the National World War II Memorial Foundation successfully raised an estimated \$130 million needed for construction of the memorial. The funds were raised entirely from private donations from corporations, veterans organizations, school groups, and individuals. This fundraising campaign was led by former Senator Dole and Frederick W. Smith, chief executive officer of the Federal Express Company.

"We have reached a time," stated Senator Dole, "where there are few around to contradict what we World War II veterans say. All the more reason for the war's survivors, widows and orphans to gather here, in Democracy's front yard, to place the Second World War within the larger story of America. After today, it belongs where our dwindling ranks will soon belong—in the history books."

When completed, this World War II Memorial will stand as a permanent tribute to veterans of both the European and Pacific Theaters, as well as the dedication of the United States to the defense of freedom and liberty in the 20th century.

The original idea for the World War II Memorial originated with Representative MARCY KAPTUR who introduced legislation establishing the memorial in 1987 after a constituent pointed out to her that no such memorial had been dedicated up until that point.

In her remarks, Congresswoman KAPTUR (Ohio) stated: "individual acts by ordinary men and women in an extraordinary time bound our country together as it has not been

since—bound the living to the dead in common purpose and in service to freedom, and to life."

This World War II Monument, which demonstrates America's dedication to the defense of liberty and freedom, will stand in the company of the monuments to Washington and Lincoln, its counterparts for the 18th and 19th centuries, respectively. This World War II Monument is also a tribute to the millions of Americans who worked for victory in the war effort on the home front.

Mr. Speaker, I submit the full statements of Senator Dole and Representative KAPTUR at this point in the RECORD:

SENATOR BOB DOLE, WORLD WAR II MEMORIAL GROUNDBREAKING, THE MALL, NOVEMBER 11, 2000

Thank you very much. Mr. President, Tom, and Fred, and our countless supporters and other guests. I am honored to stand here as a representative of the more than 16 million men and women who served in World War II. God bless you all.

It has been said that "to be young is to sit under the shade of trees you did not plant; to be mature is to plant trees under the shade of which you will not sit." Our generation has gone from the shade to the shadows so some ask, why now—55 years after the peace treaty ending World War II was signed aboard the USS Missouri—there is a simple answer: because in another 55 years there won't be anyone around to bear witness to our part in history's greatest conflict.

For some, inevitably, this memorial will be a place to mourn. For millions of others, it will be a place to learn, to reflect, and to draw inspiration for whatever tests confront generations yet unborn. As one of many here today who bears battle scars, I can never forget the losses suffered by the greatest generation. But I prefer to dwell on the victories we gained. For ours was more than a war against hated tyrannies that scarred the twentieth century with their crimes against humanity. It was, in a very real sense, a crusade for everything that makes life worth living.

Over the years I've attended many a reunion, and listened to many a war story—even told a few myself. And we have about reached a time where there are few around to contradict what we say. All the more reason, then, for the war's survivors, and its widows and orphans, to gather here, in democracy's front yard to place the Second World War within the larger story of America. After today it belongs where our dwindling ranks will soon belong—to the history books.

Some ask why this memorial should rise in the majestic company of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Roosevelt. They remind us that the mall is hallowed ground. And so it is.

But what makes it hallowed? Is it the monuments that sanctify the vista before us—or is it the democratic faith reflected in those monuments? It is a faith older than America, a love of liberty that each generation must define and sometimes defend in its own way.

It was to justify this idea that Washington donned a soldier's uniform and later reluctantly agreed to serve as first President of the Nation he conceived. It was to broadcast this idea that Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, and later as President, doubled the size of the United States so that it might become a true Empire of Liberty. It was to vindicate this idea that Abraham Lincoln came out of Illinois to wage a bloody yet tragically necessary Civil War purging the strain of slavery from freedom's soil. And it was to defend this idea around the

world that Franklin D. Roosevelt led a coalition of conscience against those who would exterminate whole races and put the soul itself in bondage.

Today we revere Washington for breathing life into the American experiment—Jefferson for articulating our democratic creed—Lincoln for the high and holy work of abolition—and Roosevelt for upholding popular government at home and abroad. But it isn't only Presidents who make history, or help realize the promise of democracy. Unfettered by ancient hatreds, America's founders raised a lofty standard—admittedly too high for their own generation to attain—yet a continuing source of inspiration to their descendants, for who America is nothing if not a work in progress.

If the overriding struggle of the 18th century was to establish popular government in an era of divine right; if the moral imperative of the 19th century was to abolish slavery; then in the 20th century it fell to millions of citizen-soldiers—and millions more on the home front, men and women—to preserve democratic freedoms at a time when murderous dictators threatened their very existence. Their service deserves commemoration here, because they wrote an imperishable chapter in the liberation of mankind—even as their Nation accepted the responsibilities that came with global leadership.

So I repeat: What makes this hallowed ground? Not the marble columns and bronze statutes that frame the mall. No—what sanctifies this place is the blood of patriots across three centuries. And our own uncompromising insistence that America honor her promises of individual opportunity and universal justice. This is the golden thread that runs throughout the tapestry of our nationhood—the dignity of every life, the possibility of every mind, the divinity of every soul. This is what my generation fought for on distant fields of battle, in the air above and on remote seas. This is the lesson we have to impart. This is the place to impart it. Learn this, and the trees planted by today's old men—let's say mature men and women—will bear precious fruit. And we may yet break ground on the last war memorial.

Thank you all and God bless the United States of America.

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE MARCY KAPTUR (OHIO), WORLD WAR II MEMORIAL GROUNDBREAKING CEREMONY, NOVEMBER 11, 2000

We, the children of freedom, on this first Veterans' Day of the new century, gather to offer highest tribute, long overdue, and our everlasting respect and gratitude to Americans of the 20th century whose valor and sacrifice yielded the modern triumph of liberty over tyranny.

This is a long-anticipated day. It was 1987 when this Memorial was first conceived. As many have said, it has taken longer to build the Memorial than it took to fight the war. Today, with the support of our veterans service organizations and a small but determined, bipartisan group in Congress, the Memorial is a reality. I do not have the time to mention all the Members of Congress who deserve to be thanked for their contributions to this cause, but two Members in particular must be recognized. Rep. Sonny Montgomery, now retired, a true champion of veterans in the House, and Senator Strom Thurmond, our unfailing advocate in the Senate.

At the end of World War I, the French poet Guillaume Apollinaire declaring himself "against forgetting" wrote of his fallen comrades: "You asked neither for glory nor for tears. All you did was simply take up arms."

Five years ago, at the close of the 50th anniversary ceremonies for World War II,

Americans consecrated this ground with soil from the resting places of those who served and died on all fronts. We, too, declared ourselves against forgetting. We pledged then that America would honor and remember their selfless devotion on this Mall that commemorates democracy's march.

Apollinaire's words resonated again as E.B. Sledge reflected on the moment the Second World War ended: "... sitting in a stunned silence, we remembered our dead ... so many dead. ... Except for a few widely scattered shouts of joy, the survivors of the abyss sat hollow-eyed, trying to comprehend a world without war."

Yes. Individual acts by ordinary men and women in an extraordinary time—one exhausting skirmish, one determined attack, one valiant act of heroism, one dogged determination to give your all, one heroic act after another—by the thousands—by the millions—bound our country together as it has not been since, bound the living to the dead in common purpose and in service to freedom, and to life.

As a Marine wrote about his company, "I cannot say too much for the men ... I have seen a spirit of brotherhood ... that goes with one foot here amid the friends we see, and the other foot there amid the friends we see no longer, and one foot is as steady as the other."

Today we break ground. It is only fitting that the event that reshaped the modern world in the 20th century and marked our nation's emergency from the chrysalis of isolationism as the leader of the free world be commemorated on this site.

This Memorial honors those still living who served abroad and on the home front as well as those we have lost: the nearly 300,000 Americans who died in combat, and those among the millions who survived the war but who have since passed away. Among that number I count my inspired constituent Roger Durbin of Berkey, Ohio, who fought bravely with the 101st Armored Division in the Battle of the Bulge and who, because he could not forget, asked me in 1987 why there was no memorial in our nation's Capitol to commemorate the significance of that era. I regret that Roger was not able to see this day. To help us remember him and his contribution to this Memorial, we have with us today a delegation from his American Legion Post and his beloved family, his widow Marian, his son, Peter, and his daughter, Melissa, who is a member of the World War II Memorial Advisory Board.

Only poets can attempt to capture the terror, the fatigue, and the camaraderie among soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines in combat. This is a memorial to their heroic sacrifice. It is also a memorial for the living to remember how freedom in the 20th century was preserved for ensuing generations.

Poet Keith Douglas, died in foreign combat in 1944 at age 24. In predicting his own death, he wrote about what he called time's wrong-way telescope, and how he thought it might simplify him as people looked back at him over the distance of years. "Through that lens," he demand, "see if I seem/substance or nothing: of the world/deserving mention, or charitable oblivion. . . ." And then he ended with the request, "Remember me when I am dead/and simplify me when I'm dead." What a strange and striking charge that is!

And yet here today we pledge that as the World War II Memorial is built, through the simplifying elements of stone, water, and light. There will be no charitable oblivion. America will not forget. The world will not forget. When we as a people can no longer remember the complicated individuals who walked in freedom's march—a husband, a sister, a friend, a brother, an uncle, a father—when those individuals become simplified in

histories and in family stories, still when future generations journey to this holy place, America will not forget.

## HONORING JOAQUIN LEGARRETA

### HON. SOLOMON P. ORTIZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 2000

Mr. ORTIZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a unique American who has served our nation with distinction and honor, Joaquin Legarreta, the Drug Enforcement Agency Deputy Attache for the United States in Mexico.

Mr. Legarreta has served the United States for 30 years in one of the most dangerous jobs we ask our public servants to do, to stand and fight on the front lines of our drug war, one of the great domestic and international policing challenges of the 20th Century, one already following us into the 21st Century. Thanks to men like Joaquin Legarreta, the United States is safer; but he would be the first to tell you that the task of his agency is not yet finished.

He began his service to our country in 1970 with the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the precursor to today's DEA (the DEA was formed in 1973). His star was already on the rise when he won the prestigious Administrator's Award in 1980, the award that recognizes excellence in agents whose work brings runners, and those for whom they work, to justice.

He won the Administrator's Award in 1980 for the Superfly operation. The DEA caught the Superfly, a "mother ship" from Colombia exporting \$65,000 pounds of marijuana. A "mother ship" sits in international water and distributes its cargo to smaller ships for transport into the United States.

After terms of service that took him to major cities across the Southwest, including Houston, Laredo, El Paso, Brownsville and Sacramento, Legarreta joined the Intelligence Center for DEA, stationed, again, a El Paso. At that point, he began an even more dangerous line of work, work at which he is terribly adept. Today, he is charged with oversight of the DEA regional offices all over Mexico, traveling to them and conducting business on our behalf there.

During the course of his service, he has had numerous contracts put out on his life, a certain indicator that an agent is doing his job above and beyond the call of duty. Once, near the border, he was involved in a shootout in which one of his agents was shot; Legarreta picked him up, put him in the car and drove him to the hospital, saving his life.

He recently told a story that should make all of us proud. In Sacramento, his team executed a search warrant on a drug lab. Afterwards, an agent brought him a woman who had asked to talk to whoever was in charge. Thinking she was upset because flowers had been trampled or a dog kicked, he was overwhelmed when she thanked him for her freedom, and that of her neighbors.

With tears in his eyes, he recanted the story of this small woman with a sweater over her shoulders who grabbed his hand and said, "Thank you for freeing us." She told him that the people in the neighborhood had been prisoners in their own homes because of the drug

lab. She wouldn't let go of his hand while they stood together for several minutes.

That, he says, made it all worthwhile. So, while we enjoy our comforts here today, I ask my colleagues to join me in commending this brave and unique patriot on the occasion of his retirement. I also thank his wife, Lupita, and their children, Lorena, Veronica, and Claudia, for sharing their husband and father with our nation.

## INTRODUCTION OF A RESOLUTION OF INQUIRY

### HON. DAVID E. PRICE

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 2000

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I rise to introduce a Resolution of Inquiry to have the President direct the Archivist of the United States, the official of the United States Government responsible for coordinating the functions of the Electoral College, to provide the House of Representatives with full and complete information about the preparations that have been made for the various states to carry out the functions of the Electoral College this year.

It is not widely known that the House of Representatives and Senate have a critical role in counting the states' electoral ballots for President and Vice President of the United States. Many know of the ministerial function of the joint session that counts the ballots cast by the electors who are elected in their states. What is not widely understood is the precedent allowing Congress to decide which of two conflicting electoral certificates from a state is valid. Most important is the constitutional function of the Congress to formally object to the counting of the electoral vote or votes of a state and, by a majority of both the House and Senate, to disallow the counting of a state's electoral votes. The House of Representatives should not take this duty lightly, nor should we approach it unprepared.

I want to call attention to the 1961 precedent when a recount of ballots in Hawaii, which was concluded after the governor of that state had certified the election of the Republican slate of electors, showed that the Democratic electors had actually prevailed. The governor sent a second communication that certified that the Democratic slate of electors had been lawfully appointed. Both slates of electors met on the day prescribed by law, cast their votes, and submitted them to the President of the Senate. When the two Houses met in joint session to count the electoral votes, the votes of the electors were presented to the tellers by the Vice President, and, by unanimous consent, the Vice President directed the tellers to accept and count the lawfully appointed slate. Thus, the precedent holds that the Congress has the ability to judge competing claims of electors' votes and to determine which votes are valid.

The rejection of a state's electoral vote or votes is provided by 3 U.S.C. §15. The relevant part reads as follows:

[A]nd no electoral vote or votes from any State which shall have been regularly given by electors whose appointment has been lawfully certified to according to section 6 of this title from which but one return has been

received shall be rejected, but the two Houses concurrently may reject the vote or votes when they agree that such vote or votes have not been so regularly given by electors whose appointment has been so certified.

The only occasion I am aware of when 3 U.S.C. § 15 was brought into play was January 6, 1969. The vote of North Carolina was stated to be 12 for Richard M. Nixon and Spiro T. Agnew and one for George C. Wallace and Curtis E. LeMay. Representative James G. O'Hara of Michigan and Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine protested the counting of the vote of North Carolina for Wallace and LeMay as not "regularly given."

The joint session then divided, and after the House and Senate individually debated the protest for two hours each, as provided by statute, they each voted to dismiss the objection and the vote for Wallace and LeMay was counted.

The circumstances that challenged the Congress in 1961 and 1969 were certainly different from those that may come to the Capitol doorstep early next year. If there is a single certainty about the election for president in 2000, it is that there is nothing certain. I believe it is in the interest of the members-elect of the 107th Congress that the 106th Congress make preparations for whatever may come to pass. I propose the first step in preparation is to pass a formal resolution of inquiry, which I have proposed today, to have the President direct the Archivist of the United States to provide the House of Representatives with full and complete information about the preparations that agency has coordinated to prepare the Electoral College to complete its constitutional function. We will need that information to know if the functions are faithfully and regularly carried out.

I also have requested the Congressional Research Service to provide information on state laws requiring electors to pledge their support for their political party's nominees for President and Vice President of the United States. Although there is precedent in the House and Senate for accepting the vote of a so-called "faithless elector," as cited in the 1969 instance where a North Carolina elector pledged to Nixon voted for Wallace, that was a case that did not involve state law requiring the faithfulness of electors. There is no precedent for counting or excluding the vote of a "faithless elector" when that elector's vote is cast in violation of state law. It is important that we in the House of Representatives have a thorough understanding of state law should such a situation arise in January 2001.

Mr. Speaker, time is of the essence in preparing Congress for counting the electoral votes in January. I urge the expeditious approval of this resolution of inquiry.

#### ELECTION 2000

**HON. CYNTHIA A. MCKINNEY**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Ms. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, I am extremely disappointed with events in Florida, but it is important that I bring to your urgent

attention, voting difficulties experienced in my District.

In 1996, there was heavy voter turnout in the Fourth Congressional District. The heavy turnout was responsible for sending me back to Congress after an unfriendly redistricting fight. However, at that time, voters were forced to wait for hours in order to cast their vote. Too many of them had to stand outside in the weather because the polling places were cramped and too small to accommodate the large number of voters who showed up to vote. People were standing outside and in some cases the lines extended down the street. We all were very proud to have excited the electorate to vote. However, that experience should have alerted the planners of our elections of the need for adequate facilities for voting; apparently it did not.

Regrettably, the electoral process in the Fourth Congressional District was once again marred by exactly the same logistical difficulties as were experienced in 1996, only this year they were even worse. From election day continuing through today, my office has received phone calls from constituents saying that they experienced excessively long delays in voting, some having to wait as long as five hours, and even worse, many said that they left the polling station without having voted at all. In stark contrast, I am told that the polling stations in the northern precincts of the district, which are majority white, moved quickly (in some cases in as little as 15 minutes) and voters did not experience any where near the difficulties experienced by black voters in the southern part of the District. I am concerned that we might be seeing a new pattern and practice that has black voter suppression as its intent.

Complaints in my district are rampant, and I've heard similar complaints from other parts of my State. I don't want to place blame on any of the innocent election workers whose task it was to service large numbers of voters under severe circumstances. In large measure, they did an admirable job under the circumstances. But the right to vote in this country is sacrosanct and that right should be protected. I am calling on the Department of Justice to investigate what happened in my district because sophisticated black voter suppression is still black voter suppression and that's against the law.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, DC, November 9, 2000.

Hon. WILLIAM CLINTON,  
President, Washington, DC.

DEAR PRESIDENT CLINTON: I am extremely disappointed to have to write this letter to you today. But in light of events in Florida, I think it is important that I bring to your urgent attention, voting difficulties experienced in Georgia's Fourth Congressional District.

In 1996, there was heavy voter turnout in the Fourth Congressional District. I am pleased about that. The heavy turnout was responsible for sending me back to Congress, Max Cleland to the Senate, and you to the White House. However, at that time, voters were forced to wait for hours in order to cast their vote. Too many of them had to stand outside in the weather because the polling place was cramped and too small to accommodate the large number of voters who showed up to cast their vote. People were standing outside and in some cases the lines

extended down the street. We all were very proud to have excited the electorate to vote. However, that experience should have alerted the planners of our elections here of the need for adequate facilities for voting; apparently it did not.

We worked very hard this year to encourage all the voters in the district to participate in the November 7th election and as a consequence, there was once again a strong turnout. Regrettably, the electoral process in the Fourth Congressional District was once again marred by exactly the same logistical difficulties as were experienced in 1996, only this year they were worse. From election day continuing to today, my office and the DeKalb County NAACP have received countless phone calls from constituents complained saying that they experienced excessively long delays in voting, some having to wait as long as four to five hours, and even worse, many said that they had left the polling station without having voted at all. These constituents complained that the polling stations were completely underprepared for the turnout. There were simply too few voting booths, voter lists, and elections personnel at the black precincts in the Fourth Congressional District. In stark contrast, I am told that the polling stations in the northern precincts of the district, which are majority white, moved quickly (in some cases in as little as 15 minutes) and voters did not experience any where near the difficulties experienced by black voters in the southern part of the District.

By way of example, constituents complained that at Stone View precinct, there were at least 1200 people standing in line waiting to vote, but election officials confided that they could process only approximately 100 voters an hour and that at that rate voters would be voting until 8:00 a.m. the following morning. Hundreds of people eventually left the precinct without voting after having waited four to five hours to vote. Additionally, we received complaints that constituents waited as long as four to five hours in line only to be told when they finally arrived at the desk that they were at the wrong precinct and because of the lateness of the hour, they were not going to be able to vote at all.

Tragically, many of the people waiting in line to vote were forced to stand for hours in the rain with infants and young children. One constituent complained that after he had waited for hours to get his ballot form at the front desk, he was not allowed reentry into the building when he left the voting line to check on his small children who were outside. Also, several motor vehicle accidents occurred at polling stations, in large measure I am sure, because of the voting delays leading to traffic congestion at the polls.

In light of the above, I am extremely concerned that a new form of black voter suppression might have been experienced by voters in the Fourth Congressional District, constituting a potential violation of the Voting Rights Act.

Mr. President, I do not want to place blame on any of the innocent election workers whose task it was to service large numbers of voters under severe circumstances. In large measure, they did an admirable job under the circumstances. But the right to vote in this country is sacrosanct and that right should be protected.

I respectfully request your immediate investigation into this matter.

Sincerely,

CYNTHIA MCKINNEY,  
Member of Congress.

TRIBUTE TO HOWELL L. HODGSKIN, JR. FOR LONGTIME SERVICE TO CENTRAL NEW YORK AND THE U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY

**HON. JAMES T. WALSH**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, at the conclusion of this admissions season, Mr. Howell L. Hodgskin, Jr. will retire after twelve years of service to Upstate New York as our region's admissions field representative for the United States Military Academy at West Point.

Mr. Hodgskin, a graduate of West Point and a one-time commissioned officer in the United States Army, has served as the U.S. Military Academy's liaison officer for seven different Members of Congress—SHERWOOD BOEHLERT, JOHN MCHUGH, MAURICE HINCHEY, Bill Paxon, TOM REYNOLDS, AMORY HOUGHTON, and me—as we annually seek to make nominations to the nation's service academies.

After distinguished service in the Army, Mr. Hodgskin was employed as a program manager and radar engineer for the General Electric Company in Syracuse from 1956 to 1989. Since his retirement from General Electric, Mr. Hodgskin has proved invaluable as Upstate's Congressional liaison to West Point. His contributions have assisted Central New York's finest young people in their efforts to enroll in the United States Military Academy.

As he prepares to step down from this important role, I salute him on behalf of the residents of New York's 25th Congressional District for his service and dedication to West Point and our nation. The best of luck always, Hodge.

TRIBUTE TO COMMANDER VIRGINIA TORSCH, UNITED STATES NAVAL RESERVE

**HON. JAMES P. MORAN**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. MORAN of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to an exceptional leader in recognition of her remarkable service to her country, both on active duty and in the reserves, and as a staunch advocate of improved health care benefits for members of the uniformed services community. CDR Virginia Torsch's truly distinguished record merits special recognition on the occasion of her departure from The Retired Officers Association (TROA) to a position in the private sector.

CDR Virginia Torsch received her Bachelor of Science degree in Zoology from the University of Maryland in 1978, and completed her Master's of Health Science in International Health at Johns Hopkins School of Public Health and Hygiene, Baltimore, Maryland in 1982.

A year later, in 1983, CDR Torsch became a commissioned officer in the U.S. Navy's Medical Service Corps. She was sent to the Naval Hospital, Pensacola, Florida where she served eleven months as the Assistant Comp-troller. She then transferred to the Armed Forces Medical Intelligence Center, Fort

Detrick, Maryland as a medical intelligence research specialist, writing medical studies on countries in Southeast Asia. Three years later in 1987, CDR Torsch transferred to the Pentagon where she served on the Navy Surgeon General's staff as the Assistant for Fleet Support in the Medical Operations and Planning Division. During this tour, CDR Torsch also completed the Naval War College's seminar program, graduating with distinction in 1989. In November 1990, CDR Torsch affiliated with the Navy Reserves where she is currently attached to the National Naval Medical Command Bethesda 106 unit.

In December, 1990, after leaving active duty, CDR Torsch joined the Strategy 2000 staff at the Paralyzed Veterans of America (PVA). While there, she assisted with the development and publication of "Strategy 2000: The VA Responsibility in Tomorrow's National Health Care System", which analyzed the potential impact of national health care reform on the VA medical care system. CDR Torsch also tracked and analyzed health care reform legislation and initiatives, both at the national and state levels.

In October, 1992, CDR Torsch joined the staff at The Retired Officer's Association as the Assistant Director of Government Relations, Health Affairs, where for the last eight years she has worked tirelessly to advance legislation guaranteeing lifetime health care for uniformed services beneficiaries. Because of her strong health care background, CDR Torsch was made TROA's principal representative to The Military Coalition's Health Care Committee. To illustrate the significance of this assignment, it is helpful to note that The Military Coalition (TMC) is a consortium of 31 nationally prominent military and veterans organizations, representing more than 5.5 million members plus their families and survivors.

Shortly after beginning her liaison with TMC, CDR Torsch was elected to the position of the Co-chairman of the TMC Health care Committee because of her ability to articulate forcefully the urgency of providing lifetime health care to members of the greatest generation and their successors and in recognition of her practical insights on the best legislative strategy to achieve that goal. CDR was a major contributor to the Coalition's Health Alternative Reform Taskforce (CHART) study, which identified several innovative ways to provide lifetime health care to military beneficiaries who were locked out of military treatment facilities when they attained Medicare eligibility. That landmark study became the blueprint for several laws that were enacted in the last five years.

In 1997, Congress enacted a three-year demonstration of a concept called Medicare subvention, through which the Health Care Financing Administration would reimburse the Department of Defense (DOD) for care provided to Medicare-eligible members of the uniformed services community in Military Treatment Facilities (MTFs). That program, now called TRICARE Senior Prime, was included in the Balanced Budget Act of 1997 and is currently in operation at 10 MTFs.

Over the years, CDR Torsch and other members of The Military Coalition have worked very closely with my staff in developing an option to allow Medicare-eligible service beneficiaries to enroll in the Federal Employees Health benefits Program (FEHBP), the same program that is available to virtually

all Federal civilian employees, Congressional staff members and Members of Congress. In 1998, an amendment to the FY 1999 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA), which I sponsored along with my distinguished colleagues, WILLIAM MAC THORNBERRY and J.C. WATTS, provided authority for DOD to conduct a three-year demonstration to determine the financial and other impacts of allowing Medicare-eligible service beneficiaries to enroll in FEHBP. The test of FEHBP-65, as it is called, is also underway at 10 locations around the country. I am convinced the results of this demonstration will prove conclusively that FEHBP is a cost-effective and viable option that should be made available to all retirees.

The FY 1999 NDAA also provided authority to conduct two other demonstrations for Medicare-eligible retirees which CDR Torsch and the coalition collaborated on with the Armed Services Committees: TRICARE as second-payer to Medicare; and the enrollment in DOD's mail order and retail pharmacy programs.

CDR Torsch's unwavering efforts to provide a meaningful health care benefit to Medicare-eligible members of the uniformed services community culminated this year when Congress established in the FY 2001 National Defense Authorization Act a lifetime entitlement to TRICARE for service retirees, their family members and survivors. Effective on October 1, 2001, the TRICARE-for-Life option will not require participants in this program to pay enrollment fees or deductibles. CDR Torsch and the Military Coalition also advocated successfully to have Congress offer a TRICARE prescription drug benefit in the final FY 2001 NDAA. As evidence of her commitment and effectiveness in advocating on behalf of military retirees, Congress also adopted a key recommendation offered by CDR Torsch in her testimony earlier this year that beneficiaries should not be required to pay enrollment fees or premiums to participate because doing so would deny this benefit to those who need it most.

Taken together, these initiatives comprise the most significant improvements in military health care ever undertaken. Thanks in large measure to the dedication by CDR Torsch, TROA and other advocates of military retirees, Congress has demonstrated its commitment to providing lifetime health care to our nation's military personnel and their families. I commend their involvement in this area and believe these efforts should prove invaluable in reversing declining retention and readiness trends in all services.

Mr. Speaker, CDR Torsch has been a leader in every sense of the word—a leader in TROA, the Military Coalition and the entire retired community. Her health care contributions have made an indelible mark on the lives of millions of retirees that will benefit them for years to come. I urge you to join me in wishing her continued success in her new endeavors and in her continued service to this nation.

CONCERNING ABILENE  
PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA

**HON. CHARLES W. STENHOLM**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I would like to recognize the 50th anniversary of one of

Abilene's oldest performing arts organizations, the Abilene Philharmonic Orchestra on December 2 of this year. This great symphony orchestra enriches the cultural life of a city in a unique way; it creates a place where fine musicians want to live and teach and perform. In the 1950-opening season, concerts were held in the old Abilene High School with audiences of less than 100 people. Currently the Abilene Philharmonic Orchestra performs in the Abilene Civic Center with crowds averaging 2,000. I would not only like to acknowledge this organization for their 50th anniversary, but also the impact they have had on the Abilene community.

#### HONORING A SPECIAL COLORADO FAMILY

#### HON. BOB SCHAFFER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 14, 2000*

Mr. SCHAFFER. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to honor a hard working family from Flagler, CO. Florence Fuller works with her daughter and son-in-law, Sally and Mike Santala on their farm in northeast Colorado. They survive Florence's husband, Eddie, who began the family tradition of finding new ways of conserving natural resources on their farm. It is that tradition that has earned the Fuller family the Farming Conservationist Award from the Colorado Association of Soil Conservation Districts at its 56th annual meeting in Grand Junction, Monday, November 13. Each year, the association awards the title of Conservationist of the Year to landowners who exemplify leadership in land stewardship.

The Fullers first came to Kit Carson County in 1948 and immediately took a leadership role in their local community. Eddie Fuller helped organize the Flagler Soil Conservation District in 1951 and acted as the organization's Secretary-Treasurer for 16 years. The Fuller farm now encompasses 860 acres of cropland, 97 acres of hay meadow, and 2,500 acres of rangeland at the base of the Colorado Rocky Mountains. It is because of the Fuller family's innovative work with rotational grazing techniques and other conservation methods that the Colorado Association of Conservation Districts has bestowed upon them such an honor, and it is because of their contributions to their community and the environment that I stand here to recognize them today.

#### MOTION TO INSTRUCT CONFEREES ON H.R. 4577, DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, AND EDUCATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT 2001

SPEECH OF

#### HON. JOE BARTON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 31, 2000*

Mr. BARTON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to oppose this motion. It is fitting this motion was brought on October 31, because this is pure Halloween politics by the minority

party designed to scare Americans a week before the Presidential election. The timing of the motion, and the study upon which this motion is based, are questionable at best. One week before an election, the Minority Staff of the Government Reform Committee releases a report criticizing the condition of Texas nursing homes.

Some have tried to pass this study off as non-partisan. I have a hard time believing such a claim. This study was conducted unbeknownst to the majority staff at the Government Reform Committee. This was not an effort to accurately gauge the conditions of Texas nursing homes. This was purely political. The Gore-Lieberman website posted the study and commentary on it before it was released to Majority Members of the Government Reform Committee. It also breeds suspicion that days before this report was released, the Democratic National Committee began an advertising campaign on the state of nursing homes in Texas.

If this was a non-partisan study then are we supposed to believe that it was a mere coincidence the study was released on the heels of these ads being run. Even if we are to blindly accept such a coincidence, the release of the study to the Gore-Lieberman campaign before it was given to Majority Members of the Government Reform Committee clearly demonstrate that this study was nothing more than partisan political propaganda.

More disheartening than the timed release of this study was the facts ascertained and the conclusions reached by the study are a clear misrepresentation of the conditions of nursing homes in Texas. I agree that we must take steps to improve the care that patients receive in nursing homes. However, as a Texan I take great umbrage at this one-sided hatchet job designed to embarrass my state.

If we look at the objective facts we find a much different picture of Texas nursing homes than painted by the Minority Staff Report. In September 2000, the non-partisan General Accounting Agency (GAO) issued a comprehensive study that directly disputes the claims made in the partisan minority report. The GAO concluded that the percentage of homes in Texas cited for harm and immediate jeopardy deficiencies were half what the partisan Minority study claims.

The Minority Staff study claims that over 50 percent of the nursing homes in Texas had violations that caused actual harm to residents or placed them at risk of death or serious injury. According to the September GAO report, the percentage of homes with actual harm and immediate jeopardy deficiencies from January 1997 to July 2000 were only 25 percent—half what the Minority report stated. We must work to reduce this number, but it also clearly demonstrates how the Minority report attempted to overstate the problem in a partisan effort to embarrass Texas.

The University of California San Francisco Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences conducted a nationwide study of nursing facility deficiencies in which Texas nursing homes rated better than most other states. The study examined the percentage of nursing homes with deficiencies in ten different areas; Comprehensive Assessments, Accident Prevention, Housekeeping, Dignity, Physical Restraints, Food Sanitation, Accidents, Quality of Care, Pressure Sores, and Comprehensive Care Plans. In Calendar Year 1998, the last year of

the study, Texas nursing homes had lower indices of deficiencies than the normal average in eight of these categories.

In the percentage of Quality of Care deficiencies, Texas nursing homes are below the national average, while a state like Connecticut is a staggering 19 percent above the national average, and above the national average in four of ten categories. In the percentage of Food Sanitation deficiencies, Texas is half a percentage point above the national average. However, Tennessee is over eight percent above the national average in Food Sanitation deficiencies. Instead of attempting to misrepresent the Texas record for political gain, the Gore-Lieberman ticket should be focusing their efforts on improving nursing home conditions in their home states.

In Texas we understand there are problems within our nursing home system, and we have taken steps to correct them. In 1995 and 1997, Texas passed legislation that instituted: new requirements for background checks on nursing home operators, new enforcement measures on non-compliant nursing homes, and mandated standards for quality of life and quality of care. A facilities compliance with these standards must be made available to the public and explained to nursing home residents as well as their next of kin.

According to a March 1999 GAO report on nursing homes, Texas spends more than other states on compliant expenditures per home. It also shows that the only state with more compliant visits per 1,000 beds is Washington. Many experts believe that compliant investigations are more important than the standard surveys required not less frequently than every 15 months. This is believed to be this case because complaints can be a good indicator of a current problem in a facility, that a compliant visit comes as a surprise and thus gives surveyors a more accurate picture of what is going on in a facility.

We passed the Boren Amendment in the Balanced Budget Act of 1997 to remove states Medicaid spending from the crippling effects of court mandated reimbursements. The Boren Amendment was enacted to provide more fiscal discipline in the Medicaid program. However, the vague wording of the amendment subjected states to numerous court orders that led to Medicaid spending spiraling out of control. A major proponent of eliminating the Boren Amendment was President Clinton. The President, in an August 1999 speech to the National Governors Association, stated, "We've waived or eliminated scores of laws and regulations on Medicaid, including one we all wanted to get rid of, the so-called Boren Amendment." Eliminating this provision was a bipartisan effort which both parties agreed to.

If the Boren Amendment is not working, and the proof is not there that it isn't, then let's follow the procedures dictated by the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. In this statute a provision was included that asks the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services to conduct a study on access to, and quality of, the services provided to beneficiaries subject to the rate setting method used by the states. That report is due 4 years after the enactment of B.B.A. 97 which puts us in August of next year. This report will give accurate information on the effects on repeal of the Boren Amendment, and if there is a need to have it reinstated.

This is Halloween, but don't be fooled. If we need to reexamine the repeal of the Boren

Amendment lets wait until the Secretary is done with the report. This motion is not about patient care. This is about election year politics, and I urge all my colleagues to vote "no."

# THE SKELETON IN THE CLOSET

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 2000

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, the following is an article which appeared in the November 2, 2000 edition of *The New York Review of Books*, which considers the differences among African-Americans and historians as to how slavery should be most accurately remembered.

Its author, George M. Fredrickson has observed that there is indecision among African-Americans as to how slavery should be remembered, which is brought about because some believe that the best course of action is not to act at all, in other words to forget it. They wish to simply neglect any detailed recollection of slavery because the pain of its memory is too difficult to bear. But others are convinced that everything about this peculiar institution should be brought to light. To them it seems the better course of action to emulate the strategy of the one ethnic group in the twentieth century, that was severely persecuted, but who remained determined not only to discuss their persecution, but to document and publicly display it by way of museums and oral histories and confirm for all time the incredible atrocities to which they were subjected.

Over the last six years, there has been an amazing outpouring of literature and research concerning the enslavement of African people in the United States and it appears that there is still more to come. In the article that follows, it is made clear that the perspective of the historian often affected his work and made the relationship between the slaves and the slavemaster a matter of his, the historian's, subjective interpretation. It also showed how many of the attitudes that buttressed the institution of slavery lived beyond the reconstruction era and persisted not only into the post reconstruction era but into modern times. Because of the growing number of legislators who are becoming attracted to this subject and the unresolved questions that swirl around it, this essay and other materials that it references continue to illuminate this terrible part of American history. Of growing concern is the challenge that this new information may help us in a constructive way to move forward as a nation that honors diversity rather than leading to finger pointing and accusations that will divide us further. There is a growing hope that the spotlight of truth can lead to constructive solutions and a new appreciation of the significance of a diversity which is uniquely American.

THE SKELETON IN THE CLOSET

(By George M. Fredrickson)

1.

One hundred and thirty-five years after its abolition, slavery is still the skeleton in the American closet. Among the African-American descendants of its victims there is a difference of opinion about whether the memory of it should be suppressed as unpleasant

and dispiriting or commemorated in the ways that Jews remember the Holocaust. There is no national museum of slavery and any attempt to establish one would be controversial. In 1995 black employees of the Library of Congress successfully objected to an exhibition of photographs and texts describing the slave experience, because they found it demoralizing. But other African-Americans have called for a public acknowledgment of slavery as a national crime against blacks, comparable to the Holocaust as a crime against Jews, and some have asked that reparations be paid to them on the grounds that they still suffer from its legacy. Most whites, especially those whose ancestors arrived in the United States after the emancipation of the slaves and settled outside the South, do not see why they should accept any responsibility for what history has done to African-Americans. Recently, however, the National Park Service has begun a systematic review of exhibits at Civil War battlefields to make visitors aware of how central slavery and race were to the conflict.

Professional historians have not shared the public's ambivalence about remembering slavery. Since the publication of Kenneth Stampp's *The Peculiar Institution* in 1956 and Stanley Elkins's *Slavery* in 1959, the liveliest and most creative work in American historical studies has been devoted to slavery and the closely related field of black-white relations before the twentieth century. In the 1970s, there was a veritable explosion of large and important books about slavery in the Old South. But no consensus emerged about the essential character of anti-bellum slavery. What was common to all this work was a reaction against Stanley Elkins's view that slavery devastated its victims psychologically, to such an extent that it left them powerless to resist their masters' authority or even to think and behave independently. If slaves were now endowed with "agency" and a measure of dignity, the historians of the Seventies differed on the sources and extent of the cultural "breathing space" that slaves were now accorded. For Herbert Gutman, it was the presence among slaves of closely knit nuclear and extended families; for John Blassingame, it was the distinctive communal culture that emanated from the slave quarters; for Eugene Genovese, it was the ability to maneuver within an ethos of plantation paternalism that imposed obligations on both masters and slaves.

Clearly there was a difference of opinion between Blassingame and Gutman, on one hand, and Genovese on the other, about how much autonomy the slaves possessed. Genovese conceded a "cultural hegemony" to the slaveholders that the others refused to acknowledge. But even Genovese celebrated "the world that the slaves made" within the interstices of the paternalistic world that the slaveholders had made. At the very least, slaves had their own conceptions of the duties owed to them by their masters, which were often in conflict with what the masters were in fact willing to concede. Although all the interpretations found that conflict was integral to the master-slave relationship, the emphasis on the cultural creativity and survival skills of the slaves tended to draw attention away from the most brutal and violent aspects of the regime—such as the frequent and often sadistic use of the lash and the forced dissolution by sale of many thousands of the two-parent families discovered by Gutman.

There was also a tendency to deemphasize physical, as opposed to cultural, resistance by slaves. Relatively little was said about rebellion or the planning of rebellion, running away, or sabotaging the operation of the plantation. From the literature of the 1970s

and 1980s, one might be tempted to draw the conclusion that slaves accommodated themselves fairly well to their circumstances and, if not actually contented, found ways to avoid being miserable. Out of fashion was the view of Kenneth Stampp and other neo-abolitionist historians of the post-World War II period that the heart of the story was white brutality and black discontent, with the latter expressing itself in as much physical resistance as was possible given the realities of white power. Interpretations of slavery since the 1970s have tended to follow Genovese's paternalism model when characterizing the masters or analyzing the master-slave relationship and the Blassingame-Gutman emphasis on communal cultural autonomy when probing the consciousness of the slaves. Tension between the cultural-hegemony and cultural-autonomy models has been the basis of most disagreements.

Beginning around 1990, however, a little-noticed countertrend to both culturalist approaches began to emerge. The work of Michael Tadman on the slave trade, Norrece T. Jones on slave control, and Wilma King on slave children brought back to the center of attention the most brutal and horrifying aspects of life under the slaveholders' regime. Tadman presented extensive documentation to show that the buying and selling of slaves was so central to the system that it reduces any concept of slaveholder paternalism to the realm of propaganda and self-delusion. "Slaveholder priorities and attitudes suggest, instead, a system based more crudely on arbitrary power, distrust, and fear," he wrote.

What kind of paternalist, one might ask, would routinely sell those for whom he had assumed patriarchal responsibility? Building on Gutman's discovery of strong family ties, Jones maintained that the threat of family breakup was the principal means that slaveholders used to keep slaves sufficiently obedient and under control to carry out the work of the plantation. There was no paternalistic bargain, according to Jones, only the callous exercise of the powers of ownership, applied often enough to make the threat to it credible and intimidating. Like Jones, Wilma King likens the master-slave relationship to a state of war, in which both parties to the conflict use all the resources they possess and any means, fair or foul, to defeat the enemy. She compared slave children to the victims of war, denied a true childhood by heavy labor requirements, abusive treatment, and the strong possibility that they would be permanently separated from one or both parents at a relatively early age. She presented evidence to show that slave children were small for their ages, suffered from ill health, and had high death rates. The neo-abolitionist view of slavery as a chamber of horrors seemed to be re-emerging, and the horror was all the greater because of the acknowledgment forced by the scholarship of the Seventies that slaves had strong family ties. What was now being emphasized was the lack of respect that many, possibly most, slaveholders had for those ties.

A recent book that eschews theorizing about the essential nature of slavery but can be read as providing support for the revisionists who would bring the darker side of slavery into sharper relief is *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* by John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger. This relentlessly empirical study avoids taking issue with other historians except to the extent that it puts quotation marks around "paternalist." It has little or nothing to say about slave culture and community. Its principal sources are not the many published narratives of escaped slaves, such as the ones now made available by the Library of America, but

rather newspaper accounts, legal records, and the advertisements that describe runaways and offer a reward for their return.

The latter sources are especially useful because they contain candid descriptions of lacerated backs, branded faces, and other physical evidence of cruel treatment. Few runaways actually made it to freedom in the North. Most remained in relatively close proximity to their masters' plantations and were eventually recaptured. It was generally young men who absconded, but they did so in huge numbers. Few plantations of any size failed to experience significant absenteeism. Franklin and Schweninger are unable to determine "the exact number of runaways," but conclude very conservatively that there had to have been more than 50,000 a year. Slaves run off for a variety of motives—to avoid being sold or because they wanted to be sold away from a harsh master, to avoid family dissolution or to find kin from whom they had already been separated, to avoid severe whipping or as a response to it. The picture that emerges from the many vivid accounts of individual acts of desertion is of an inhumane system that bears no resemblance to the mythical South of benevolent masters and contented slaves. It is even hard to reconcile with the more sophisticated view that most slaveholders conformed to a paternalistic ethic that earned a conditional acquiescence from many of their slaves.

The masters found in this book are cruel and insensitive and the slaves openly rebellious. Although it rarely brought freedom, the mode of resistance described in *Runaway Slaves* could have positive results for the deserters. In some cases, they successfully made their return contingent on better conditions, or at least avoidance of punishment. In other words, running away could be a kind of labor action, the closest approximation to a strike that was possible under the circumstances. Very well written, filled with engrossing narrative, and exploiting valuable sources that the historians of slave culture and consciousness have tended to neglect, *Runaway Slaves* is a major work of history.

## 2.

But of course most slaves did not run away and some plantations did not have serious problems of desertion. Franklin and Schweninger might therefore be exposing only one side of a complex reality. The deep discontent of the deserters is obvious, but was their attitude typical or exceptional? To answer this question, it would be helpful to have direct testimony from slaves who stayed as well as those who fled. There are two principal sources of slave testimony—the published narratives from the nineteenth century, some of which have been collected by William L. Andrews and Henry Louis Gates for the Library of America, and the interviews with elderly ex-slaves conducted in the 1930s by WPA writers. Selections from the interview are now available in a book-audio set, published in conjunction with the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution. Reading these books and listening to the tapes conveys, if nothing else, a sense of how diversely slaves could be treated and how variously they could respond to their circumstances. The narratives written by fugitives stress, as might be expected, the abuse and oppression from which their authors have fled. But the WPA interview include some that convey nostalgia for kindly or honorable masters and suggest that paternalism could, in some instances, be an ethical code as well as a rationalization for servitude.

One could conclude therefore that some masters were genuine paternalists who made their slaves grateful that their owners were

among the decent ones (unlike, for example, the owner of a neighboring plantation who had a reputation for cruelty), while others were ruthless exploiters who treated their human property simply as tools of their own greed and ambition. Both bodies of sources have built-in biases that detract from their authority, as Franklin and Schweninger suggest in explaining why they made little use of them: "Suffice it to say that many of the persons who inhabit the pages of recent studies are either far removed in time and space from the South they describe, or, due to conventions, or the purpose of a diary, are less than candid in their observations."

An earlier generation of historians considered the kind of narratives collected by Andrews and Gates unreliable because they had allegedly been ghostwritten and embellished by white abolitionists for purposes of anti-slavery propaganda. Recent research, however, had established the authenticity of most of them. Original claims for their authorship and the existence of many of the people and events they describe have been verified. But how representative of the slave population in general were the life experiences and attitudes of these literary fugitives? They had to be literate to write their stories, and 95 percent of the slaves were unable to read and write. Four of the six accounts of escapes from the South to the North presented in *Slave Narratives*—those of Frederick Douglass, William Wells Brown, Henry Bibb, and William and Ellen Craft—feature fugitives who had white fathers. Two of them—Henry Bibb and Ellen Craft—were so light-skinned that they were able to pass for white.

Mulattos may have been a substantial minority of the slave population of the Old South, but literate, light-skinned mulattos were rare. It is nevertheless telling evidence of the callousness of Southern slaveholders that most of the children they sired with slave women were unacknowledged and kept in servitude, rather than being emancipated by their fathers, as was more likely to be the case in other slave societies. To attain freedom, the fugitives of mixed race had to use their degree of whiteness or access to education (which allowed them to forge documents) as devices for deceiving their pursuers. Upon arrival in the North, their value to the abolitionists came partly from the pathos that could be generated among color-conscious Northerners by the thought that someone who looked white or almost white could be a slave, especially if she were a beautiful young woman at the mercy of a lustful master. But the sexual exploitation of slave women of any pigmentation was a harsh reality, as the narrative of Harriet Jacobs, who sent to extraordinary lengths to avoid the embraces of her owner, clearly illustrates.

The testimony collected by WPA interviewers in the 1930s suffers from very different and perhaps more severe limitations. Most of it, including much of what is included in *Remembering Slavery*, the recent selection edited by Ira Berlin, Marc Favreau, and Steven F. Miller, comes from those born in slavery but emancipated as children. Very few of them experienced slavery as adults and those who did were into their nineties by the time they were interviewed. Seventy- or eighty-year-old memories are notoriously fallible and can be distorted as a result of what may have happened more recently. Some of those who had lived through the era of lynching and Jim Crow segregation might view their experience as children who had not yet experienced the worst of slavery with a certain amount of nostalgia.

In most cases, moreover, the interviewers were Southern whites, and blacks at the height of the segregation era in the South

would have been reluctant to express their true feelings about how their inquisitors' forebears had treated them. One would therefore expect the oral testimony to make servitude seem more benign than it actually was. But despite these inherent biases, there is in fact much evidence in *Remembering Slavery* to support the view that slavery was legalized brutality. Whipping, it is clear, was virtually omnipresent. Helplessly watching a parent being severely flogged was etched in the memory of many of the interviewees, and a surprisingly large number had been whipped themselves by masters or overseers, despite their tender ages. Sam Kilgore was exceptional in having a master who never whipped his slaves, but "Marster had a method of keepin' de cullud fo'ks in line. If one of dem do somethin' not right to dem he say: 'Don't go to wo'k tomorrow Ise 'spec de nigger driver am a-comin' pass an' Ise gwine to sell youse.'"

Whether discipline was obtained by constant use of the lash, by the threat of sale for any misbehavior, or both, the system revealed here is one that relied on fear and coercion rather than on any sense of a patriarch's responsibility to his dependents. There is also evidence in *Remembering Slavery* of what today would be considered the most flagrant kind of child abuse. Her mistress beat Henrietta King, an eight- or nine-year-old accused of stealing a piece of candy, while her head was secured under the leg of a rocking chair. "I guess dey must of whupped me near an hour wid dat rocker leg a-pressin' down on my haid," she recalled. As a result of the pressure, her face and mouth were permanently and severely disfigured.

In the light of such evidence, it is not readily apparent why Ira Berlin's introduction affirms that a paternalistic ethic prevailed among slaveholders. He it really true in most cases that "the incorporation of slaves into what planters called their 'family, black and white,' enhanced the slaveholders' sense of responsibility for their slaves and encouraged the owners to improve the material conditions of plantation life"? Material conditions did improve during the nineteenth century, but an alternative explanation is available: slaves were valuable property that was appreciating in value. In the light of their financial interest in healthy, marketable slaves, the real questions might be why conditions on the plantations were often so harsh. A slave scarred by whipping depreciated in value, but whippings persisted; slave children were an appreciating asset; but, if Wilma King is correct, they were generally unhealthy and undernourished. (An image from more than one account in *Remembering Slavery* is that of slave children being fed at a trough like pigs.)

Paternalism in one sense of the word may be a byproduct of vast difference in power. Those who present no conceivable threat to one's security, status, or wealth may be treated with condescending and playful affection. It is clear from some of the recollections in *Remembering Slavery* that attractive slave children could become human pets of their masters and mistresses. Mature slaves who "played Sambo" could also arouse feelings of indulgence and receive special treatment. But the possession of great power over other human beings can also provoke irrational cruelty. The other side of the coin of paternalism in this psychological sense is sadism.

Berlin is on stronger ground when he notes that "the paternalist ideology provided slaveholders with a powerful justification for their systematic appropriation of the slaves' labor." But the racism that made it possible to consider blacks as subhuman was another possible justification. The two could be synthesized in the notion that blacks were perpetual children and had to be treated as such

no matter what their actual ages. But if this was the dominant view it did not prevent a substantial amount of child abuse.

3.

Slave children are the subjects of Marie Jenkins Schwartz's *Born in Bondage*. It covers much of the same ground as Wilma King's *Stolen Childhood*, but in its effort to understand the master-slave relationship it leans toward the paternalism model more than toward the "state-of-war" analogy invoked by King and Norrece Jones. Consequently it presents a somewhat less horrific impression of what it meant to grow up on a slave plantation. It acknowledges the possibility of sale for adolescent slaves, noting that approximately 10 percent of them were sold from the upper to lower South between 1820 and 1860. But in claiming that "the risk of separation from families through sale was relatively low for very young children," it disregards the frequent sale of men without their wives and young children or of women with infants without their husbands that is acknowledged elsewhere in the book. Schwartz's conclusion that "slaves throughout the South worried about being sold" seems like an understatement in the light of what Norrece Jones has revealed about how masters manipulated intense fears of family separation to maintain discipline.

The conception of paternalism found in *Born in Bondage* is set forth in terms very close to those employed by Eugene Genovese. "The paternalistic bargain that slaveholders and slaves struck," Schwartz writes, "required each to give something to the other. Slaves displayed loyalty to their owners, at least outwardly, and slaveholders rewarded this with better treatment." She concedes that "the paternalistic attitude of owners was not the same thing as real benevolence" and that the slaves, aware of its self-serving nature, obeyed masters and mistresses "without internalizing the owner's understanding of class and race." But playing the prescribed deferential roles made life easier and must have become second nature for some. Children were quick to see the benefit of pleasing their owners, and the sheer presence of large numbers of children on most plantations was one factor encouraging a paternalistic ethos.

Putting aside the unresolved question of whether sincere and durable "paternalistic bargains" were normal or exceptional in slave governance, Schwartz makes the original and useful point that there was an inherent conflict between such paternalism (to whatever extent it may have existed) and the efforts of slaves to maintain a family life of their own. To the degree that masters took direct responsibility for slave children they undermined the authority of the parents and the unity of the slave family. But how likely in fact were slave owners to play such a role in the raising of slave children? Little evidence of this kind of attentiveness appears in the written and oral narratives. Accounts of slave children running about naked or in rags, being fed at troughs, or put to work at a very early age run counter to the impression of slaveholders acting in loco parentis. Although it offers some significant new insights, *Born in Bondage* should not displace Wilma King's *Stolen Childhood* and be taken as the definitive last word on growing up under slavery. Rather the two books should be read together as revealing different aspects of a complex reality.

Perhaps the time has come to get beyond the debate between the two schools of thought about the nature of antebellum slavery—the seemingly unresolvable disagreement over whether it can best be understood as resting on a "paternalistic bargain" be-

tween masters and slaves or simply on the application of force and fear in the service of economic gain. The reality reflected in the slave narratives and other primary sources is of great variation in plantation regimes. What proportion might be classified as paternalist and what proportion was based simply on "arbitrary power, distrust, and fear" cannot be quantified; it is a question that can be answered only on the basis of general impressions that will differ, depending on which sources are deemed representative and which anomalous. The side that a historian supports might be determined more by ideology or theoretical approach than by a careful weighing of the evidence.

It also seems possible that many slaveholders could fancy themselves as paternalists and act in ways that were totally at odds with their self-image. Walter Johnson's book on the slave market, *Soul by Soul*, in effect transcends the dichotomy by showing that a culture of paternalism and a commitment to commercialism were not incompatible. He also undermines another persistent and contentious either/or of Southern historiography, one that also involves the status of paternalism as ideology and social ethos. This is the question of whether "race" (inequality based on pigmentation) or "class" (stratification based on pre-modern conceptions of honor and gentility) was central to the culture and social order of the Old South.

Johnson takes us inside the New Orleans slave market, the largest and busiest in the South, and discovers that the buyers and sellers of slaves could easily mix the language and values associated with paternalism and commercialism. Unlike later historians, they saw no conflict between their needs for status and sound business practice. "I consider Negroes too high at this time," one slave owner told another, "but there are some very much allied to mine both by blood and inter-marriage that I may be induced from feeling to buy, and I have one vacant improved plantation, and could work more hands with advantage." Clearly the purchasers of slaves liked to think that they were doing a favor to those they acquired. They could buy themselves "a paternalist fantasy in the slave market" when they made a purchase that seemed to accord with the wishes of the person being bought, despite the fact that it could also be justified on strictly economic grounds. But, Johnson comments, "the proslavery construction of slave-market 'paternalism' was highly unstable: it threatened to collapse at any moment beneath the weight of its own absurdity. One could go to the market and buy slaves to rescue them from the market, but it was patently obvious . . . that the market in people was what had in the first place caused the problems that slave-buying paternalists claimed to resolve."

Paternalism, Johnson concludes, was "a way of imagining, describing, and justifying slavery rather than a direct reflection of underlying social relations." It was therefore "portable" and could "turn up in the most unlikely places—in slaveholders' letters describing their own benign intentions as they went to the slave market." Paternalism was an illusion but one that was essential to the self-respect of many slaveholders, just as hardheaded commercial behavior was essential to their economic prosperity and social pretensions. As portrayed by Johnson, the slaves were not taken in by paternalistic rhetoric. But they could influence their own destiny in the slave market by the way they presented themselves: "The history of the antebellum South is the history of two million slave sales. But alongside the chronicle of oppressions must be set down a history of negotiations and subversions." Slaves

brought to market could subvert their sale to undesirable purchasers by feigning illness or acting unruly and uncooperative, or, putting on a different mask, encourage their purchase by masters who had a reputation for good treatment or who already possessed some of their kinfolk. This form of black "agency" might be considered less decisive or heroic than the running away described by Franklin and Schweninger, but "these differences between possible sales had the salience of survival itself."

On the question of whether slavery and the Old South should be characterized by race or by class domination, Johnson suggests that both were present and that it is impossible to distinguish between them in their day-to-day manifestations. He advances the original and potentially controversial argument that to be truly "white" in the Old South one had to own slaves. Buying a first slave therefore brought racial status as well as a new class position. I would qualify the argument by limiting its application to "black belt" or plantation areas where a substantial majority of whites actually owned slaves. In the Southern backcountry and uplands, where nonslaveholding yeomen farmers predominated, the social "whiteness" of anyone who was not black or Indian was beyond question, and it was even possible to regard slaveholding itself as compromising whiteness by creating too much intimacy between the races.

Johnson also contends that differences in pigmentation were a major element in the expectations that purchasers had about the use they could make of the slaves they bought. Dark-skinned slaves were considered healthier and better suited to field labor. Male slaves who were light-skinned but not too light were thought to be good candidates for training in skilled trades. Very light-skinned males were difficult to sell, however, because of the fear that they could escape by passing for white (as Henry Bibb's narrative well exemplifies). Very light-complexioned females, on the other hand, brought high prices as "fancy women" or concubines. This was a color and class hierarchy more often associated with Latin America and the Caribbean than with America's characteristic two-category, white-over-black pattern of race relations. But Johnson argues that the physical aspect of the classification of slaves into different occupational groups was highly subjective and that observers described the pigmentation of slaves differently depending on what use they intended to make of them.

To some extent this was undoubtedly true. But it defies common sense to claim without qualification that "the racialized meaning of [a slave's body], the color assigned to it and the weight given to its various physical features in describing it, depended up the examiner rather than the examined." It is a useful postmodern insight that race and color are, to a considerable extent, "social constructions." But surely the differences between very light and very dark skin was a physical fact that had an independent effect on the evaluations being made. Except for this one instance, however, Johnson's discussion of the social and cultural construction of reality by whites and blacks in the slave market does not do violence to the inescapable external realities that limited the options and influenced the behavior of the buyers, the sellers, and the sold. By beginning the process of undermining and transcending the sharp dichotomies between paternalism and commercialism, and between race and class—on which historians of the Old South have been fixated for so long—Johnson has advanced the study of African-American slavery to a higher level.